THE WHIRLPOOL OF EUROPE

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SAXON PEASANT FAMILY, TRANSYLVANIA

THE WHIRLPOOL OF EUROPE

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND THE HABSBURGS

BY

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WITH MAPS, DIAGRAMS, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

THIS book is designed to meet the wants of the general reader, who, without time or inclination for historical and political research, is yet anxious to understand the events that are taking place in Central and Southern Europe. The authors believe that there is no book in the English language—and perhaps none in any language—which gathers up all the loose strands of this tangled web and weaves them together into a coherent whole. Many valuable studies and monographs have been written on various phases or sections of the subject, but of Austria-Hungary as a whole, of the political, racial, and social evolution of the countries over which the Habsburg Emperor-King holds sway, there exists at present no account to which the reader can turn. The paramount importance of the Austro-Hungarian question in European politics, and the crisis which seems to be impending in the affairs of the Dual Monarchy, are enough in themselves to attract attention, but apart from them this Whirlpool of Europe is a region full of interest, packed with historical associations of the most entrancing character and at the same time pulsing with modern life and the problems of social and political development. It has been well said that nowhere else in Europe is the past so intermingled with the present, and under the Emperor-King Francis Joseph one may study at the same time every phase of European civilisation, and

every kind of question, racial, political, and social, which has agitated Europe in the last two centuries.

No attempt has been made, either in text or illustrations, to do justice to the wonderful scenery which is the framework of this picture of national and political evolution. To do so would involve not one but several volumes, and the present work is merely an outline which the reader may fill in at his leisure by reference to more detailed studies. The authors feel that the historical sketch may alarm some readers by its scope, but it was found impossible to give a true impression of modern Austria and Hungary without tracing their connection with the extinct Holy Roman Empire and the modern German one, or without following, from its earliest stages, the career of the House of Habsburg. The key to the situation lies to a great extent in the historical evolution of the various parts of the Dual Monarchy and in their relations to the ruling house.

A word of explanation must be given with regard to the illustrations. It was felt that it was better to sacrifice completeness to interest in this matter, and since the number had to be limited, the selection was made of those which were likely to be new or unfamiliar to an English and American audience. Thus all the photographs of Vienna available (which do not do justice to that beautiful city and convey the impression of commonplace modernity) have been eliminated. Viennese and other Austrian city types are too similar to those familiar in Germany to be of special interest. Certain of the most beautiful and interesting parts of Austria, like the Alpine region, are

also well known, and it is for that reason, and not because they are unappreciated, that they are not more fully illustrated in this book. These are the only omissions, for very little of the Dual Monarchy is known by the outside world; and Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Transylvania, Galicia, and Bukowina were fields which offered a bewildering choice of beautiful and interesting subjects for illustration. The peasant costumes and types have been given preference because, at a time when these distinctions are rapidly disappearing in Europe, they have a special interest. In every case care has been exercised to get real peasants (and not theatrical ones) in their native costumes, and to ensure that all the illustrations should be thoroughly characteristic.

The authors' thanks are due to many people for aid in obtaining these unique illustrations, but especially to Mr. J. Eckhert, of Prague, for unrivalled pictures of Bohemian types, archiecture, and scenery; to Mr. Mosinger, of Agram, who supplied the beautiful studies from Croatia and some of those from Hungary; to Mr. Francis Hopp, of Budapest, who kindly collected many of the Hungarian types and some of the pictures of the Hungarian capital; to the Countess Mikes, of Zabola, Transylvania, for pictures of exceptional interest from that country; to the Hungarian Government; to the Municipality of Prague; to the provincial Governments of Galicia and of Bosnia-Herzegovina (especially to Mr. Hermann in the last-named country), and to a number of other people, private friends and officials alike, who took endless trouble to

assist the authors in obtaining the collection of photographs in this volume. The Austrian Government also most kindly gave permission to reproduce certain of the drawings in the "Oesterreich-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild." The maps (with the exception of the frontispiece) are sketch maps only, but they have been specially prepared and illustrate the historical evolution of Austria-Hungary in a graphic manner.

In a work which is intended for the general reader, and not the student, it has been thought unnecessary to burden the text with references. Naturally the writing of this book involved, besides personal knowledge of the countries and peoples and first-hand investigation, a vast amount of reading. It is impossible to acknowledge fully a debt of information culled from so many sources, but special mention must be made of certain books, and a list of these is appended.

It is also impossible to acknowledge individually all the help given by private individuals, many of whom are well known in the world of letters and affairs; but the names of Count Louis Ambrózy and of Professor Henri Marczali must be specially mentioned; and to Dr. A. Sum, the honorary secretary of the Bohemian section of the Austrian exhibition in London, thanks are due for valuable assistance and for putting the authors in touch with many Bohemian sources of information.

The formidable list of authorities must not lead the reader to suppose that there is little original matter in the book, and for the observation of modern life and character, and the diagnosis of the political situation, per-

sonal observation, during the spring and summer of 1906, is chiefly responsible. It would be impossible to form any impartial judgment without some personal knowledge, since the French and German authorities, to whom one must turn for detailed studies, shew a distinct bias, the former in favour of the Slavs and Magyars, the latter for the German element. It is necessary to make this clear, since it would be unfair to saddle any of the authorities mentioned, living or dead, with conclusions with which they might not be in sympathy.

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CHAPTER I

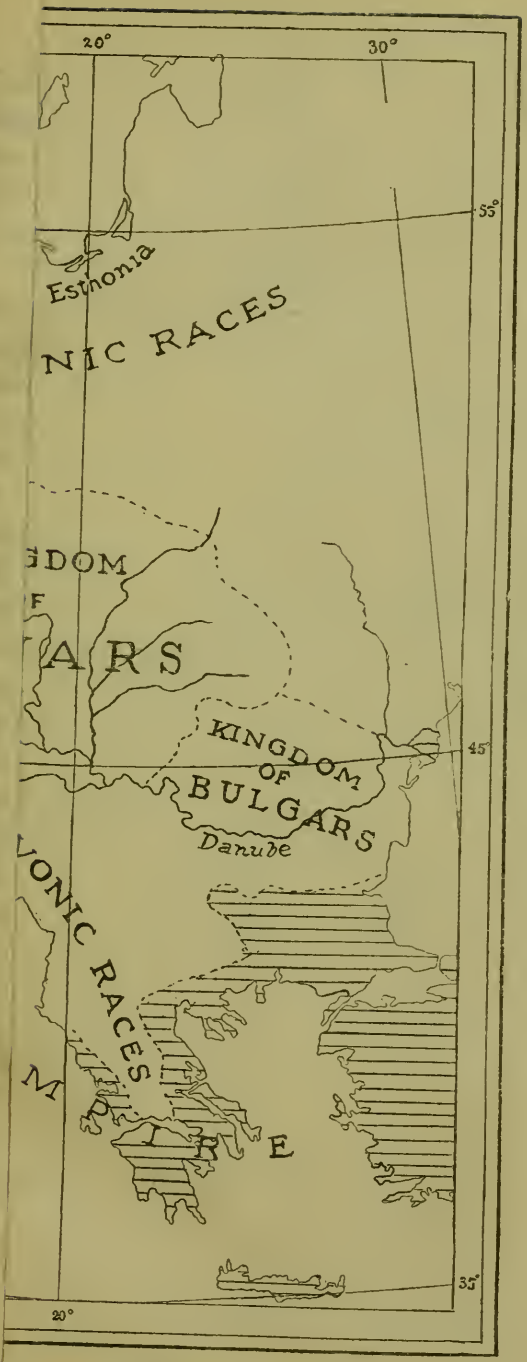
THE REALM OF THE HABSBURGS

THERE is, in reality, no collective title for the agglomeration of territories called Austria-Hungary. The House of Habsburg is merely the connecting link between many distinct parts, not only by virtue of conquest or annexation, but also by inheritance and by the right of long possession. It has to be clearly understood that the fact of mutual dislikes among the various peoples of Austria-Hungary does not necessarily impair their loyalty to the house which has stood for so long a period as the acknowledged representative to each of the kingly power, the keystone of the social and political system, not only of the whole realm, but of each separate part of it. To understand the growth of this Habsburg realm, it is necessary to trace its connection with the old Holy Roman Empire and the modern German one, and also to briefly recall the histories, not only of the two kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, but that of the archduchy of Austria. None of these territories were originally the appanages of the Habsburgs, but to-day they and their dependencies form together the *soi-distant* empire over which that family rules.

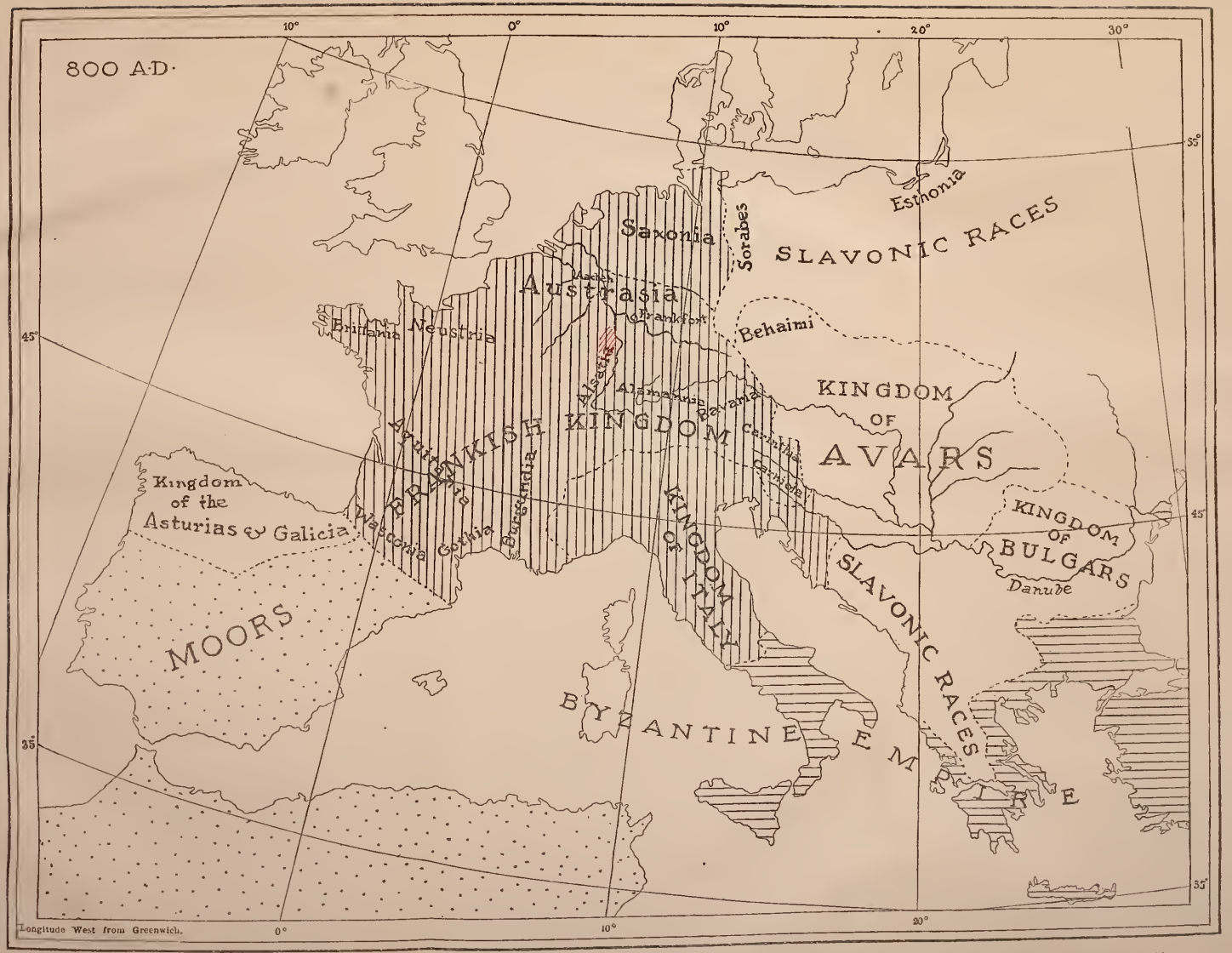
The beginnings of the Habsburgs were small. Their family took its name from a castle on the Aar, in southern Swabia, now included in the Swiss republic. From a

romantic legend this castle, built by the Bishop of Strassburg, in 1027, was called Habichtsburg, "hawk castle." To-day the cradle of the greatest imperial line is fallen into decay. In the wars of Swiss independence, in 1386-1474, it was partially destroyed, and, although offers have been made to the Swiss to buy and restore it to the Habsburgs, they have not been accepted, for with it is bound up the proud history of the successful revolt of the confederated cantons against their overlords. Part of the castle is in ruins and other parts are now a stable and an inn. The Counts of Habsburg trace their origin back to a count of Upper Alsace in the tenth century, and even, with less certainty, to Gontran, Duke of Alsace and Lorraine, in the seventh century. Their Swabian dominions were, however, divided from Alsace by the free territory of the city of Basel. In time the marriages of the Habsburg Counts (the first sign of the successful matrimonial policy of later years) united their lands with those of the Counts of Kyburg and Lenzburg, and gave them a long and scattered domain lying in and out of the Swiss mountains and valleys, taking in Lucerne and including the cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden. The free city of Zurich formed a thorn in their sides, and the independence so often characteristic of mountain peoples caused the inhabitants of this region to begin very early their agitation for self-government.

It is, therefore, as simple German counts, with scattered and not too wealthy domains and far from peaceable subjects, that we first find the Habsburgs, and this was their condition in the thirteenth century, when Rudolf,



stors of Habsburgh ////



Empire of Charlemagne IIII Byzantine Empire ≡ Ancestors of Habsburgh ////

Count of Habsburg, was elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. It is necessary, in order to understand the full meaning of this promotion, to go back to the time of Charlemagne and briefly describe the foundation and evolution of the Holy Roman Empire.

When the Roman Empire crumbled finally into dust the tradition was still continued by the Byzantine Cæsars, who claimed a nominal allegiance from Italy as well as from all regions where men still recognised their connection with the Roman Empire. While the temporal power of Rome was thus in abeyance the Church, with its head at the ancient seat of Empire, began to assume a quasi-imperial position, and in the eighth century the Pope, Leo III., entertained the bold idea that, by reviving the imperial title and prerogatives in the person of a great living monarch, a new and Christian empire might actually take the place of the old one. The fact that a really great man had already made himself master of a large part of Europe was, no doubt, mainly responsible for the inspiration, and, as the only representative of the Cæsars was the blood-stained Empress Irene at Byzantium, it seemed an excellent opportunity to found a new empire while borrowing the prestige of the old one. Consequently Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the Romans at Rome on Christmas Day, 800 A. D., and this was the foundation of the Romano-Germanic empire. The circumstance that Charlemagne was a Frank, and the founder of a line of kings who ruled at Paris, somewhat obscures the fact of his Teutonic origin. Charlemagne was a Teuton *pur sang*. His great grandfather, Pepin, was mayor of the

palace in Austrasia; that is, in the eastern section of the territory of the Teutonic Frankish kings, who had established themselves on the ruins of the Roman Empire. His grandfather, Charles Martel, ruled without the title of king both sections of the Frankish domains, and his son, Pepin, finally united them and acquired other territories, which he ruled as king of the Franks. Charlemagne himself inherited Austrasia, but, by dispossessing other members of the family and by his successful campaigns, became ruler of all (modern) France, part of Germany, the northern half of Italy, and part of Spain. The centre of his empire was the Rhine, his favourite residence at Aachen (Aix la Chapelle), and, although he obtained his imperial dignity by a nominal revival of the empire of the Cæsars, it was as a Teuton monarch that he regarded himself. The period in which he and the traditions of his house were the dominating influences in the empire created by him must, therefore, be regarded as a Teutonising period, and this character became more distinctive when, by the Treaty of Verdun (843) in the reign of his grandsons the western half of the empire, which contained a Gaulo-Romanic people, split off from the German part and began to re-form itself as modern France. The Imperial title eventually followed the Teutonic half of the empire, and although the Franconian emperors, who were the lineal descendants of Charlemagne, had territories as wide as those of their great ancestors, they were gained by expansion eastward over the Slavs.

From the first the office of Emperor was elective, and until the thirteenth century there was no fixed procedure.

The ancient custom of the Germanic tribes of choosing their leader from the military chiefs was merely carried out on a larger scale by all the nobles and chief lieges. The position of the Emperor was much the same as that of the successful warrior who was chosen to lead the tribes. The primitive instinct of choosing their chief had, however, to contend with the equally primitive instinct in the chosen to secure the rights he possessed for his descendants; and although the Empire was elective and not dynastic, the Franconian dynasty actually held it from 1024 to 1125; the Hohenstaufens from 1138 to 1254; the Luxembourgs for four reigns (not continuous); and the Habsburgs for nearly four centuries, with only one short interruption of twenty-three years. Out of the rude form of election by general consent grew the assumption of electoral preorogatives by certain of the great nobles, and in 1356 the Golden Bull of Charles IV. fixed the mode of procedure, afterwards followed with little variation until the empire dissolved in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The electors were fixed at seven, a mystic number, supposed in the Middle Ages to have special properties. These princely electors enjoyed great prestige and privileges, and were called after obsolete offices in the old Roman empire. Three were ecclesiastical lords—the so-called chancellors of the three ancient kingdoms of Gaul and Burgundy, of Germany, and of Italy—and the other four were the King of Bohemia, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Saxony, and Margrave of Brandenburg. To these was added, in 1692, the house of Brunswick, at that time ruling in Hanover, by which

means it happened that, until the Salic law separated Hanover from England, the English king of the house of Brunswick was an elector in the Holy Romano-Germanic empire. The actual tie has never been nearer than this, although it might have been, since the Imperial crown was offered by the electors to Edward III., in 1347, but was refused.

The election after 1356 was appointed to take place on true Frankish soil, at Frankfort, where in later times the Imperial diet was to meet. This diet, constituted in 1356, was made up of three bodies—electors, princes, and cities—with the result that, as princes and cities were frequently at variance, they formed leagues and even made alliances outside the empire, while the Emperor had to balance himself between them as best he could. The title borne from the eleventh century was "Romanorum Rex," [1] the actual "Imperator" being reserved by custom until the candidate had been crowned by the Pope at Rome in the basilica of St. Peter's. Many never achieved this distinction, and only one Habsburg was actually crowned at Rome, but after the fifteenth century a compromise was arrived at, and Maximilian I., being unable to reach Rome by reason of the hostility of the

[1] The Carolingian emperors after Charlemagne were styled simply "Imperator Augustus." Otho III., 983, was crowned at Rome with this title, prefixing Romanorum; but he and his successors were also crowned at Aachen and Milan as "Rex Francorum," or simply "Rex." After their coronation at Rome all smaller titles were discarded, but for a considerable period they underwent four distinct coronations, as King of the Franks at Aachen, King of Italy at Monza or Milan, King of Burgundy at Arles, and Emperor at Rome.

Venetians, obtained a bull authorising the use of the title "Emperor-Elect" (Imperator Electus), to which in 1508, he added "Germaniæ Rex." This, therefore, continued to be the correct official title as long as the Empire lasted, but throughout the Middle Ages and down to modern times there was only one Emperor in Europe, and as "The Emperor" he wore his proud title without any qualifying phrase. It soon became the custom for the Emperor's son to be crowned king during his father's lifetime, and it was as part of Napoleon's scheme for reviving the ancient world-empire that he caused his ill-fated son to be entiled "King of the Romans." This last little King of the Romans was also, by a curious fate, a Habsburg on his mother's side.

But it is a "far cry" from the castle of Habichtsburg and the simple Swabian counts to the headship of the empire of Charlemagne. This, in fact, endured but a short time and, although under Otho the Great (936) it enjoyed a real renascence, its character gradually changed. It was only from the time of Otho that the right of the king, elected by the German states to the imperial title and the kingdom of Italy, was fully recognised throughout Europe, so that he may justly be regarded, not so much as the successor of Charlemagne, as the founder of a fresh Romano-Germanic empire. One of the determining forces in mediæval history was the antagonism between the Popes and the Emperors, which was the result of a continual struggle as to whether the paramountcy of the Empire should be temporal or spiritual. The religious fervour of the Crusades was largely stimu-

lated by the Church to maintain her position in men's eyes and to appeal to their imagination and love of adventure, but at the same time the growth of the feudal system, by strengthening the power of the great nobles and reducing the peasantry to serfdom, was setting up a number of petty rulers who wished to be independent of all domination. The Church herself competed with the feudal lords in the extent of her possessions and the arrogance of her ecclesiastical princes, and so it came about that the Emperor frequently was the rallying point for the lay feudatories of the empire, while the Church waged war through its own great lieges. The wars of the Guelphs and Ghibellines had their origin and *motif* in this age-long contest, the Guelphs or Welfs being the supporters of the Popes, while the Ghibellines took their name from a town (Waibelingen) whence the Hohenstaufen emperors came. The crux of the dispute was in the matter of lay investiture. The Pope claimed entire jurisdiction over all Church lands, and as these comprised about one-half the best territories in the German states it was impossible to concede this without raising up a second imperial power.

The endeavours of the Emperors, German rulers, to assert their power over Italy, led to a series of disasters, and the German period ends with the last of the Hohenstaufens, who, having inherited Italian possessions, perished in his attempt to secure them, while remaining as a German monarch independent of, and even hostile to, the Pope. During this period the growing independence of Italy, despite the pretensions of the Emperor, was in

reality acting as a consolidating force on the Empire, and the internal development of some of the great feudatories led to the beginnings of a real German nationalism.

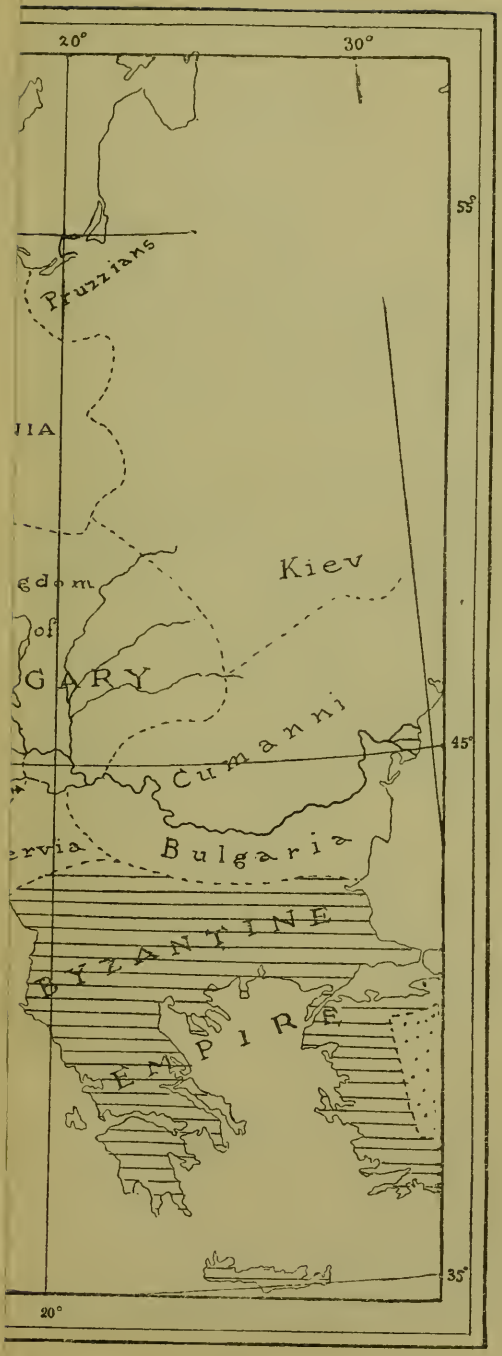
One of these great feudatories was Austria, of which the beginning was the Ost-mark, or Eastern march, set on the frontiers against the Magyars. This region lay on the Danube, between Bohemia, Moravia, and the duchy of Carinthia. The ancient Roman city of Vindobona (in the Roman province of Pannonia), believed to have been the mother of Vienna, was its chief town, and although surrounded by Slav countries a process of Germanisation made considerable advances. In 983 the Emperor Otho bestowed the Ost-mark on the House of Babenberg, which reigned there for over two and a half centuries, and at the court of the Babenbergs German minstrels and *minnesingers* were gathered, and the whole country fell under German civilisation.

The accession of the Swabian house of Hohenstaufen to the Empire, and the relations of the Margrave with Frederick Barbarossa[2] led to the elevation of the Ost-mark to the rank of a duchy in the twelfth century, and in the reign of the third duke, Frederick, the boundaries of the duchy were increased, and its ruler hoped by Imperial favour to be able to raise it to the rank of a kingdom. His death, fighting against the Magyars, in 1246, led to the extinction of the House of Babenberg, and the Emperor Frederick II. at once laid claim to the duchies of Austria and Styria as liege lands of the empire.

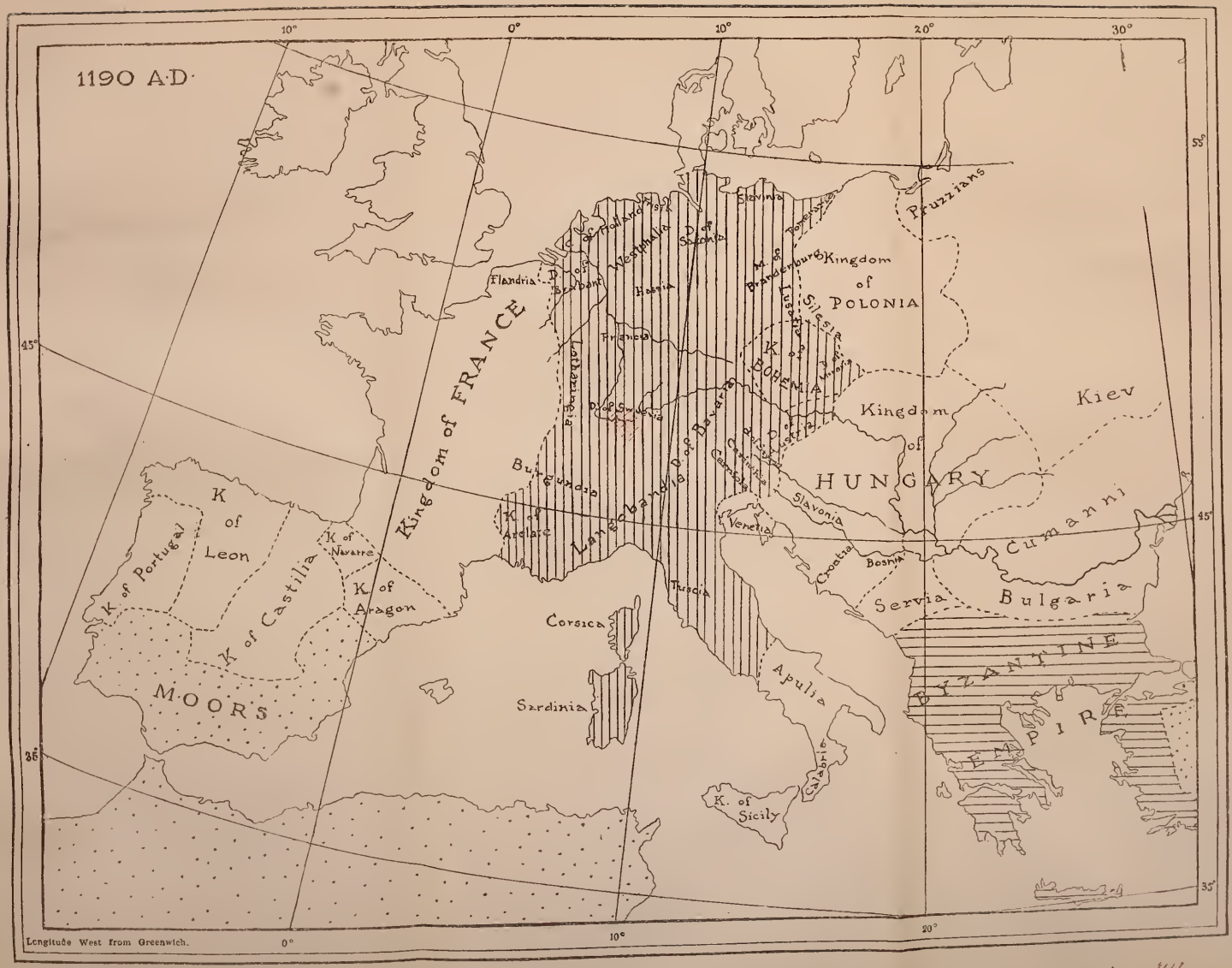
[2] The affix "Holy" to the title "Roman Empire" dates from the reign of Frederick Barbarossa.

Another competitor for these was the powerful king Premysl Ottocar of Bohemia, who was descended by his mother from the Babenbergs, and after many wars against Hungary he succeeded in annexing Austria and Styria, in 1260, while a few years later he added Carniola. A strange concatenation of circumstances led to the passing of Austria to a third house—that of Habsburg. The terrible conflict between the Emperor Frederick II. (who was by inheritance an Italian as well as a German monarch), and the Holy See (whose supremacy was threatened by his ambition and lack of orthodoxy), ended by the death of Frederick in 1250, and as his only legitimate descendant was killed shortly afterwards the house of Hohenstaufen became extinct.

The greatest confusion followed, and an interregnum lasted for twenty-five years. Although the Empire was revived in name it had no longer the character either of the one founded by Charlemagne or of that reconstructed by Otho the Great. On the other hand the loss of the Imperial power in Italy was ultimately of advantage in building up a new Empire round a purely German centre. A number of competitors for the Imperial dignity were chosen by rival factions, but each was vanquished in turn either by the Pope, the Lombard cities, or the German princes. The title might, in fact, have been allowed to drop, with the semblance of an empire, but the Germans were loath to lose the pretensions to a dignity which gave one of their number a position, in appearance, above all other European monarchs. At the same time they were averse to such a process of centralisation as that which in France



Habsburgh Counts ////



The empire in the reign of Frederick Barbarossa IIII Byzantine Empire ≡ Habsburgh Counts ////

was making that country strong and homogeneous. The monarchy there, like that of England, was built up by a steady concentration on one point and the gradual reduction of the great feudatories. Germany, on the contrary, in an attempt to retain European hegemony and in a disastrous struggle with the Papal power, dispersed instead of concentrating her power and remained a loose agglomeration of petty states. The electors constantly resisted the attempt to make the Imperial office hereditary, nor were they anxious that it should be exercised by the strongest of their number. Therefore, although they offered it to Ottocar of Bohemia, they were relieved when he refused it and proceeded, without his sanction, to elect another prince, not for his strength and influence, but because he was credited with sagacity and prudence and would avoid collision with the Pope. This prince was Rudolf, Count of Habsburg, and he justified the expectations formed of him, making no attempt on Italy and not even seeking to be crowned at Rome.

Rudolf became Roman king in 1273—the full Imperial title, as we have seen, being reserved for those crowned by the Pope. His title was resisted by Premysl Ottocar of Bohemia, who finally fell fighting against him and having lost Austria and the other duchies, left Bohemia to his infant son. This was the great opportunity of the Habsburgs, who, as simple Suabian counts, had no special power or importance and might have slipped back into obscurity. Rudolf at once claimed Austria and Styria as liege-lands of the crown, and, securing the consent of the Estates, conferred these duchies, as well as the province

of Carinthia, on his sons Albert and Rudolf. The duchies did not accept their new masters without remonstrance, and Vienna actually revolted and was only subdued by force of arms. Albert eventually succeeded to both the duchies, and added to them by wars with his neighbours, acquiring Carniola. When his father died, the electors, anxious to avoid any appearance of hereditary succession to the Imperial throne, set up Adolf of Nassau, but on the death of that monarch in 1298 Albert was allowed to succeed, and he increased the position of the House of Habsburg substantially. In 1306 the last of the Bohemian dynasty of Premyslides—grandson of Ottocar—died, and Albert then claimed Bohemia as a fief of the empire, or rather as a family estate, desiring to force on it his son Rudolf. Although Bohemia resisted this successfully she never again enjoyed a national dynasty, but in order to escape from the Habsburgs elected to her throne a member of the House of Luxembourg, at this period one of the greatest rivals of the Habsburgs. This house held sway in Bohemia for 120 years.

On the death of Albert the Imperial crown passed from the Habsburgs, although his son Frederick was actually elected and crowned at Cologne. His claims were disputed successfully by Louis of Bavaria and during the fourteenth century the imperial dignity was contested by the Luxembourgs and the Bavarians with varying results. During this period the Austrian dukes steadily increased in power. Their family possessions were constantly divided, but invariably reunited again under some member of the house. Albert's sons reigned after him in

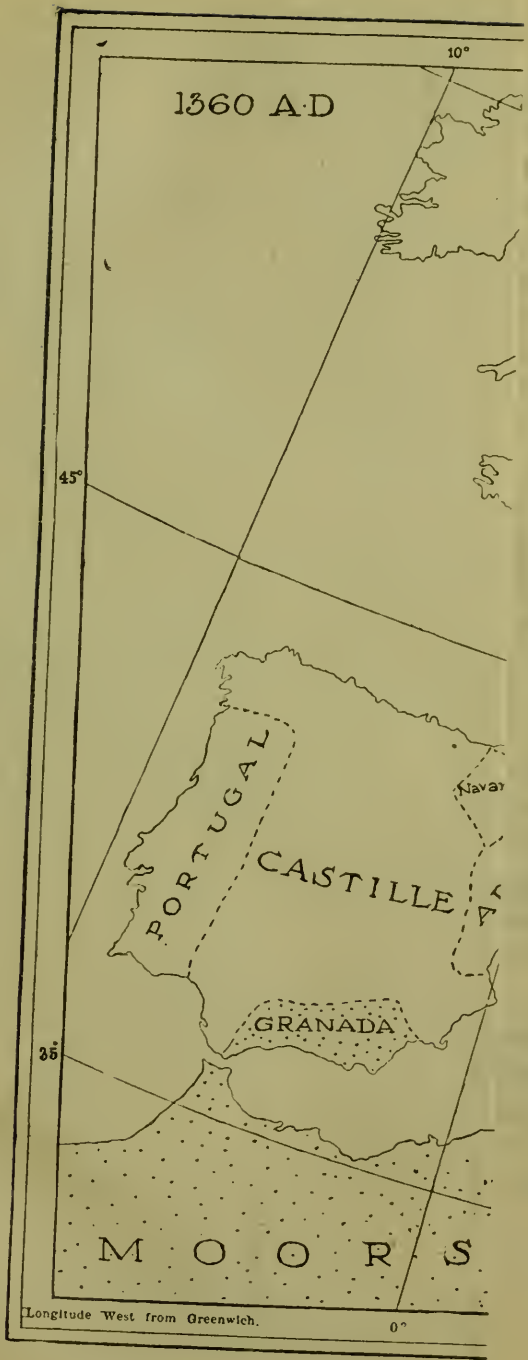
succession, and the eldest, Rudolf, who was married at nineteen to a daughter of the Emperor Charles IV. (of the House of Luxembourg, King of Bohemia), deserves mention as one of the real founders of the house. He was disappointed by the non-recognition of Austria in the Golden Bull (whereby his father-in-law, Charles, settled the electoral college of the empire), in which Austria had no place, although she was a large state and already two emperors had been chosen from her. Rudolf accordingly resorted to a stratagem, and by means of an elaborate forgery maintained that the Dukes of Austria had been granted special independence and privileges by previous emperors, and had electoral rights. Although Charles refused to ratify these pretensions, he eventually agreed to a compromise whereby the houses of Luxembourg and Habsburg respectively agreed to guarantee each other's possessions. Rudolf also gained the Tyrol by one of those deeds of inheritance so frequent in the history of the Habsburgs, which always seemed to turn to their advantage. By a similar deed he prepared the way for the annexation, later on, of Carinthia, and thus his German and Swabian possessions were consolidated and the way opened to Italy. Rudolf is also known as the founder of the University of Vienna and of the cathedral of St. Stephen, which he began in 1356. After his death his two brothers divided the family lands into the duchies of Austria and Styria.

In 1437 the Emperor Sigismund, who by inheritance had become King of Hungary and Bohemia, died without a son, and his successor was Albert of Austria, the hus-

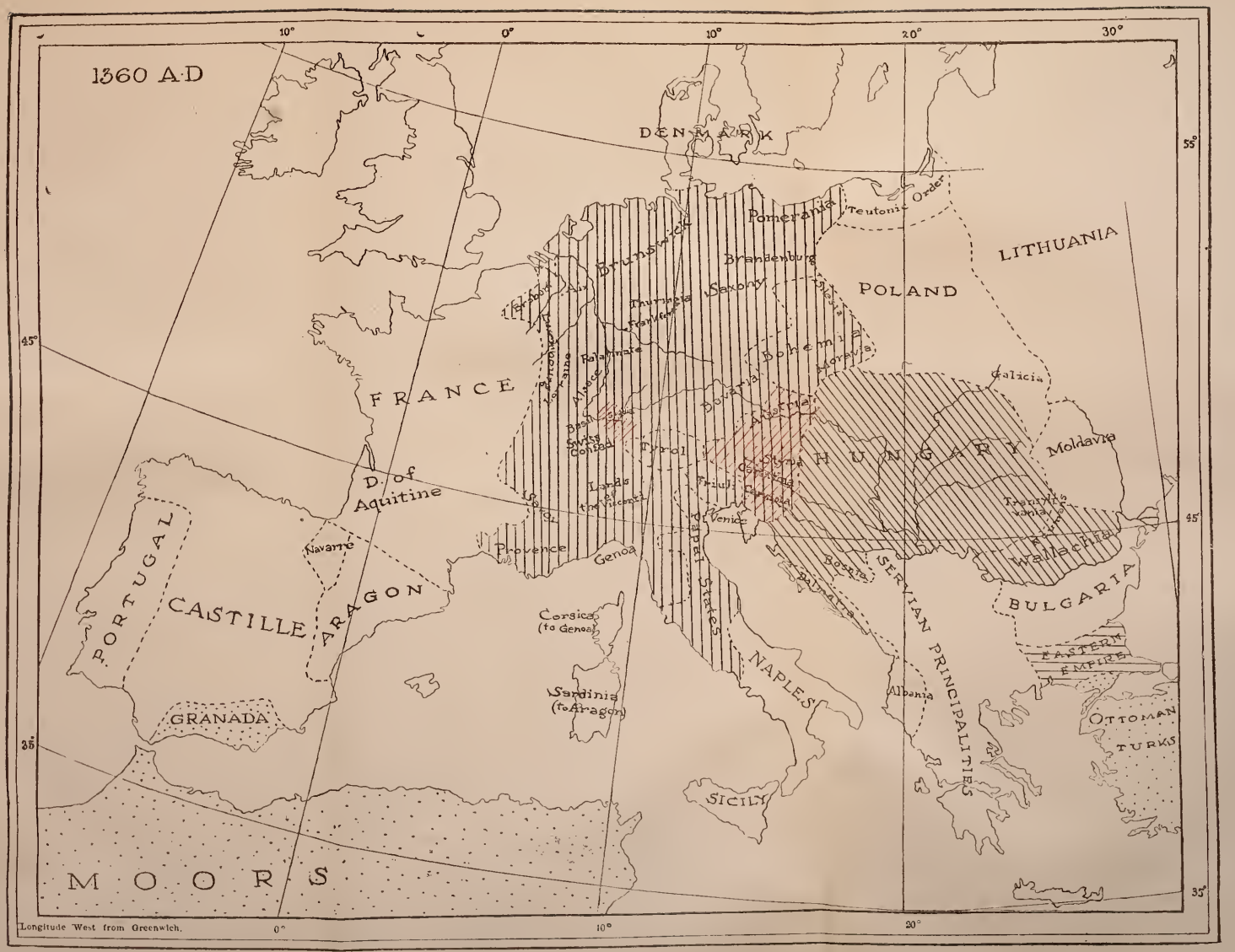
band of his daughter. Albert was elected Emperor in 1438, and thus for the first time we see the union of Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia under an Imperial head of the House of Habsburg. From this time the Imperial crown remained in the family, but the older line, the house of Austria, became extinct in 1457, and the Styrian house succeeded it.

The Styrian branch brought with it Carinthia, Carniola, the Tyrol, and the town of Trieste, the last of great importance as affording an outlet to the sea. The early possessions of the Habsburgs were, however, being diminished by the rising independence of the Swiss. As early as 1313 the " forest cantons " revolted against their count, who was also Duke of Austria, and, as already mentioned, in the early part of the fourteenth century they destroyed the castle of Habichtsburg, which has remained in partial ruins ever since. Although the Swiss cantons and cities did not gain full recognition of their independence till toward the end of the fifteenth century, they had already secured a measure of it, and not even the accession of the Count of Habsburg to the Imperial title could secure him in his ancient rights over them. One of the Styrian counts, Ernest, who ruled at Gratz from 1408-39 and was known as the " Man of Iron," married Cymburga, a Polish lady, daughter of the Duke of Mazovia, and she is said to have bequeathed to her descendants the " Habsburg lip." She was mother to the Emperor Frederick III., and grandmother to Maximilian.

The succession of the Styrian line to the Austrian duchy was not accomplished without disputes between various



The Empire in the XIVth Centi



The Empire in the XIVth Century |||| Hovse of Habsburgh Eastern Empire
Kingdom of Hungary \\\\

branches of the house, but eventually it passed to Duke Frederick III., who in 1440 succeeded Albert as Emperor. He made Austria an archduchy and augmented the family possessions, and was also the first monarch to use the monogram A. E. I. O. U., which, variously interpreted, is generally taken to stand for *Austriæ est imperare orbi universo*—an empty boast quite in character with the rhetoric of the period. Frederick used this monogram on his pottery and had it stamped on his books. He did not hold his patrimony without struggles, and even Vienna revolted against him and besieged him in his own castle. an incident never forgotten by his son Maximilian who, as a child, suffered the pangs of hunger in this siege and never forgave the Viennese, making Augsburg his favourite residence. In Frederick's time an enemy appeared whose dreaded incursions were destined to draw Slav, Magyar, and German together and unite them against the assault of the Crescent. His family possessions as well as the imperial title were handed on by him to Maximilian, who also inherited the Netherlands through his wife. It was the successful matrimony policy of Maximilian in arranging the marriages of his grandson and granddaughter which eventually led to the reuniting of the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia under the Habsburgs, after the disaster of Mohacs in 1526.

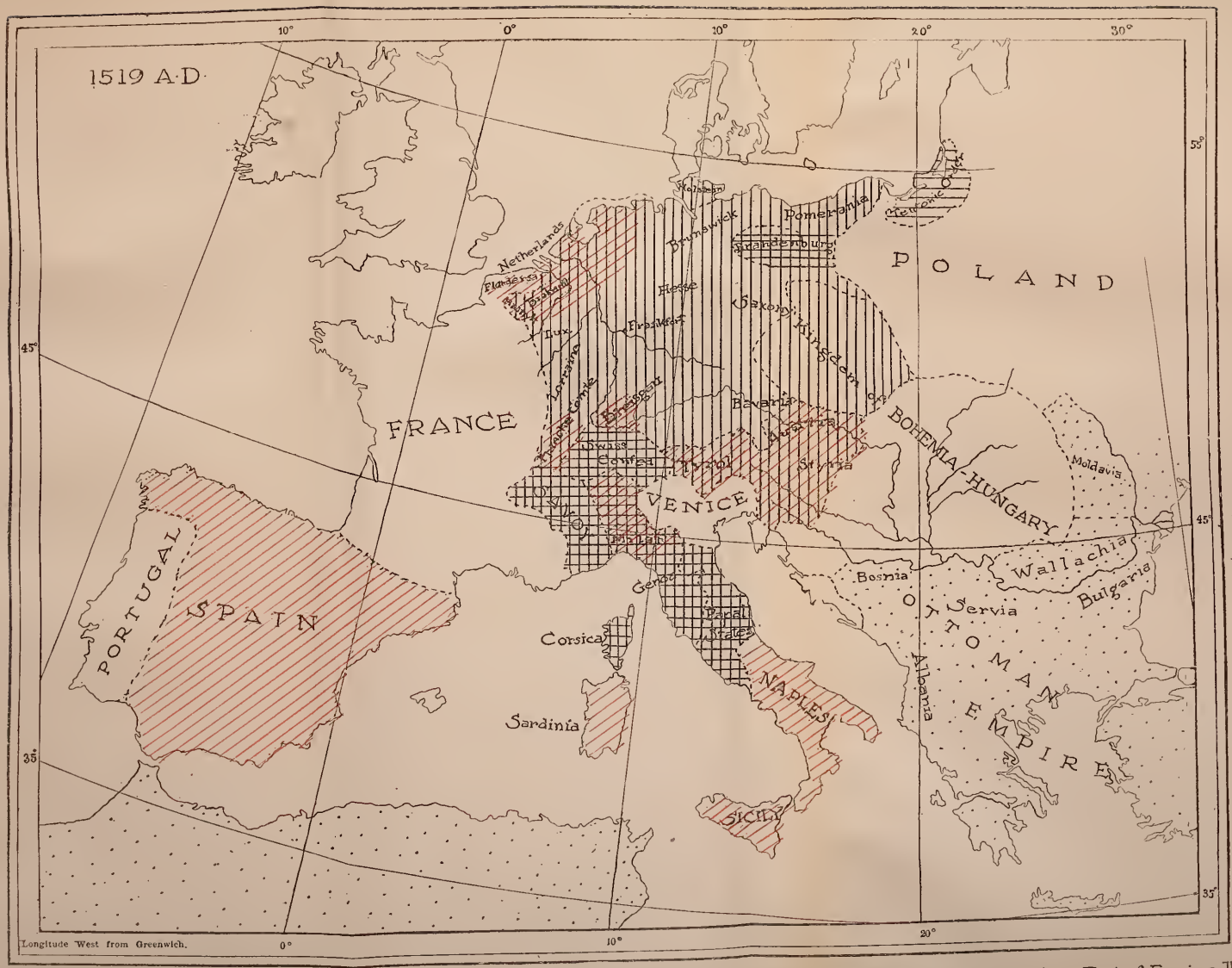
From this time the history of the House of Austria or the Habsburgs is intimately linked with that of Hungary, Bohemia, and the old and new German empires. Bohemian independence was lost after the battle of the White Mountain, in 1618, but Hungary never ceased,

save for a short period under Leopold I. (1687), to be an elective monarchy, albeit she recognised the hereditary claims of the House of Habsburg.

The family policy of the Habsburgs has always been the guiding spirit in their history; under their domination it became the ruling factor in the empire. By conquest and inheritance they acquired large and powerful possessions and used these to preserve their predominance in Germany and to win back by degrees the hegemony of Italy. But their widening circle of influence was gained at the expense of the German states. They were always ready to embroil the Empire in Italy, or with France, for the sake of a scion of the House of Habsburg, and to retain their hold on the Netherlands they made endless sacrifices, while in 1736 Francis II., husband of Maria Theresa, even bartered Lorraine for Tuscany—a German for a non-German territory.

In distinction, therefore, to the German empire founded by Otho the Great the empire of the Habsburgs was an Austrian one, and just as the conception of a great Teutonic European empire which inspired Charlemagne was narrowed under his successors to that of a German empire dominating Italy, so under the Habsburgs the German ideal was put on one side in favour of an Austrian one. This is shewn in the intense importance attached by the Habsburgs to those portions of the empire which were their hereditary possessions, and in their attempt to augment them, as we have already said, even at the expense of German territory. At the same time the rise of German, Slav, or Magyar nationalism was

The empire and hereditary Empire III
Inheritance of Charles V //// dynasty.



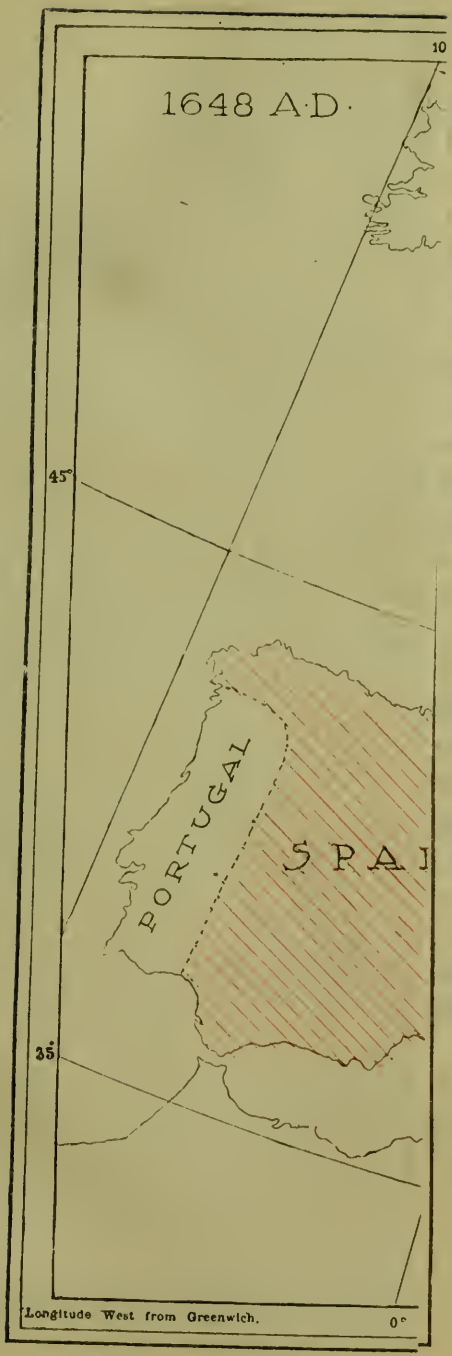
The empire and hereditary possessions of Charles V. Empire IIII. States dependent on or nominally Part of Empire III
Inheritance of Charles V //// (Charles abdicated 1556). Bohemia-Hungary are united under a Polish dynasty.
House of Hohenzollern ≡

sternly opposed, and as time went on it became the ambition of the Habsburgs to reduce the power of their nobles and build up round the Austrian nucleus a centralised empire. In a way they were entirely successful in this, since the Habsburgs, or Austrian house, are really the centre in every sense of the modern realm, but the resuscitation of their claims on Italy and the intensely conflicting elements even in the very heart of their dominions proved a serious stumbling block, and in the long run the suppressed forces of national feeling have wrecked the hopes of a homogeneous empire.

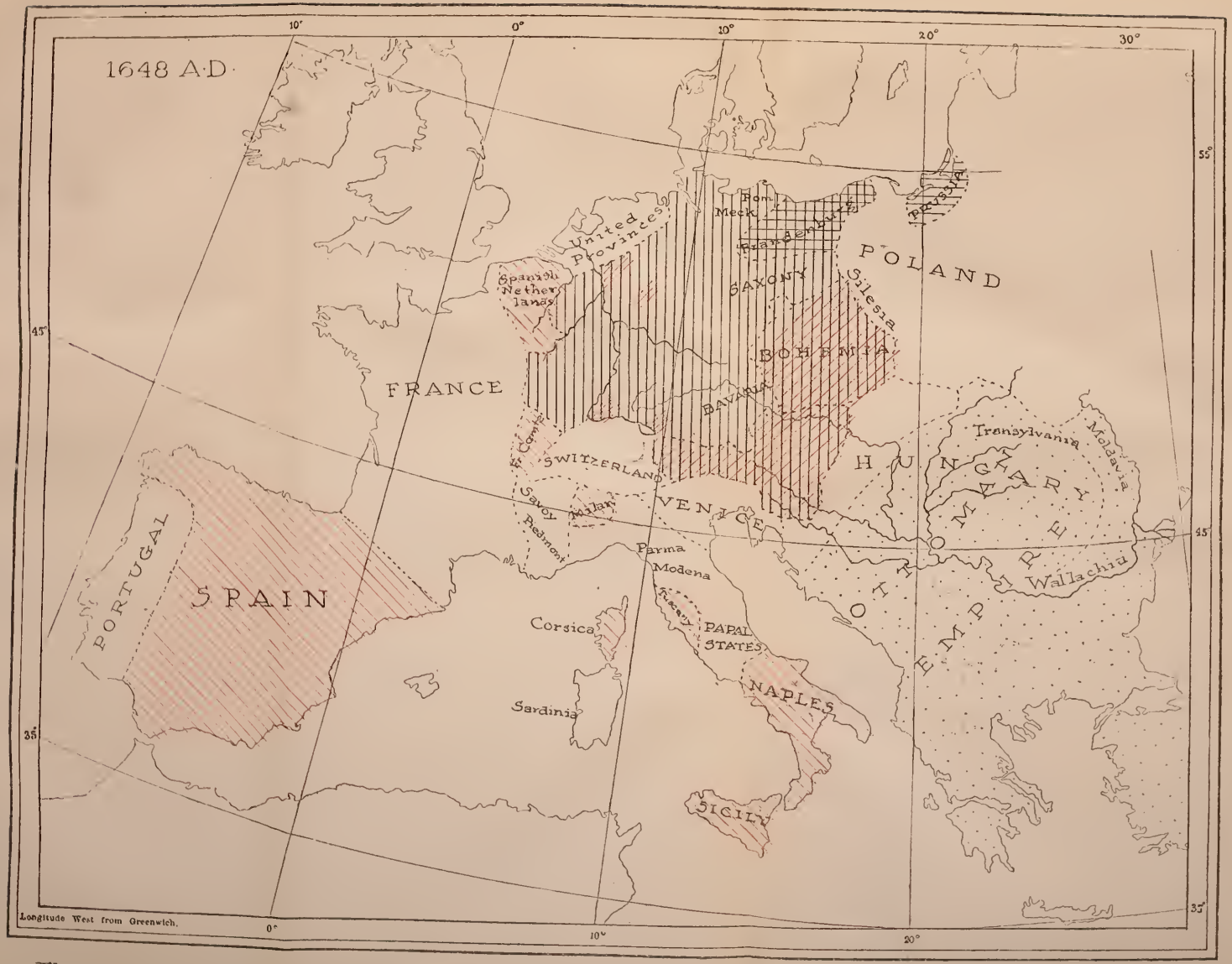
We are, however, somewhat anticipating the march of events. Another factor of supreme importance in moulding the fate of the empire has to be considered. In the succeeding chapters we shall see the peculiar conditions under which a large portion of Central Europe received Christianity. Moravia and part of Bohemia were converted by the Byzantine apostles, who brought them a Slav liturgy, and, although they no longer retain its forms, they have ancient traditions of independence of Rome. It is not wonderful that religious and national liberty soon became synonymous in countries which were struggling simultaneously against German and Catholic influence. At the same time the corruption in the church and state of confusion in the empire were producing a great effect on the minds of men who were hardly freed from the superstitions of the Dark Ages. The earliest sign of the Reformation was seen in the teachings of the English Wycklyffe in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, which found an echo in the far-off countries of Bo-

hemia and Moravia, where John Huss and John of Prague and their followers, the Hussites, fought a long and bitter fight for national and religious freedom. The Thirty Years' War of the seventeenth century was a similar conflict with a more extended arena and the Germans, instead of the Czechs, in conflict with the Emperor and the Pope. The awakening feeling of German nationalism was, in half the empire, driven into hostility against an institution which seemed to bind them to Rome as the centre of a foreign tyranny. As early as 1338 the Germanic Diet at Rense solemnly protested against the pretensions of the Pope to supremacy, and a similar course was taken by the electors at Frankfort. In 1648 the Thirty Years' War came to an end, and the Peace of Westphalia laid the foundation of modern Europe and remains as a landmark in history and the basis of international law.

The difference made in the position of the Emperors by this religious disruption of the empire needs to be thoroughly appreciated. The Habsburgs were Catholics, and, although by no means uniformly subservient to the Popes, the force of circumstances caused them to rely on the support of the Church. After ruthless but ineffectual attempts to stamp out the Reformed Religion, they were at length compelled to acknowledge it, and in 1608 the German princes were divided into a Catholic and a Protestant League, which led up to the Thirty Years' War. The predominant note in the period which follows the Peace of Westphalia is the rise of the Protestant Hohenzollerns, as compared with the waning power of the Catholic Habsburgs. In 1701 Frederick, the Protes-



The Holy Roman Empire
Domains of Austria



The Holy Roman Empire in XVII Century ▨ Ottoman Empire ▩ Hovse of Hohenzollern ▤
Domains of Austrian Hovse of Habsburg ▭ Collateral branches of Hovse of Habsburg ▭

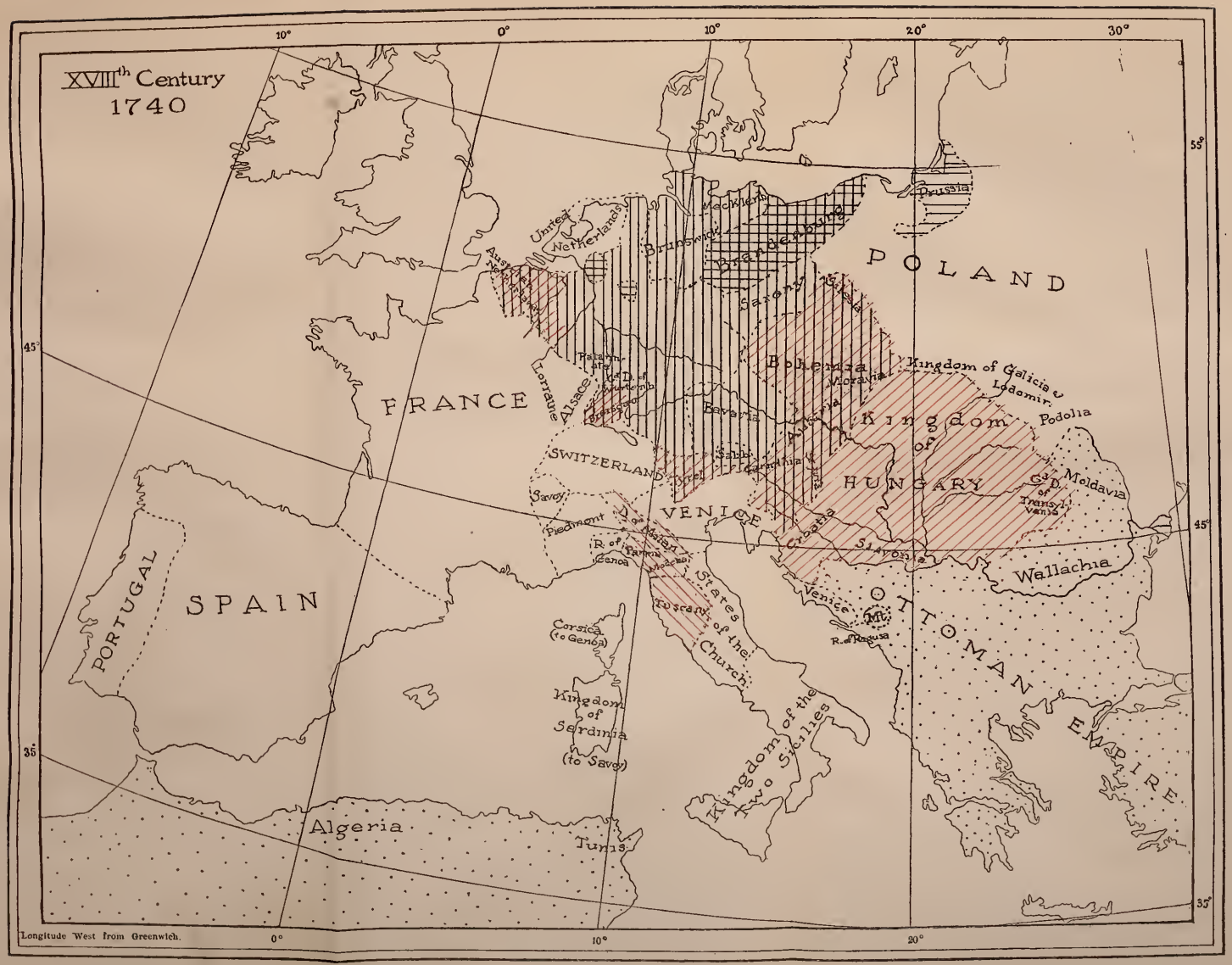
tant elector of Brandenburg, was powerful enough to secure the title of King of Prussia. Forty years later Frederick the Great ascended the throne of Prussia and made it one of the first powers of Europe, and at the same time the House of Habsburg came to an end in the male line, but had been secured to Maria Theresa, daughter of Charles VI., by the diplomacy of that monarch.

In speaking of the comparative decline of the Habsburgs we must remember that at the zenith of their power their domains included, besides the archduchies of Austria and Styria, the Tyrol, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, Milan, the Netherlands, Franche Comté, and Spain. Bohemia and Hungary were not included, although Maximilian chose to call himself king of them, as they were at this time united under the Jagellon dynasty. Such was the inheritance of Charles V., due to the work accomplished by his grandfather, Maximilian (1493-1519), the most attractive and romantic figure in the whole family history of the Habsburgs; perhaps the only one, of a long line of emperors, who attracts by the largeness of his qualities and chivalric and picturesque personality. After Maximilian's death his grandsons almost divided Europe between them, but his domain, like that of Charlemagne, soon split up again, and the really permanent part of it was that which had its centre in the Austrian possessions, with claims over Bohemia and Hungary.

When Maria Theresa (1740) succeeded her father on a very precarious throne, as King of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduchess of Austria, etc., she had to contend

against other claimants of the House of Habsburg, who claimed prior rights, despite the fact of their resignation while Charles was alive and the confirmation of Maria's position which he had gained by obtaining the Pragmatic Sanction of all the Estates to her succession. A long struggle ended, largely by the reason of Hungarian loyalty to Maria, in her victory, and her husband, Francis of Lorraine, was chosen Emperor. On his death her son Joseph succeeded him in the Imperial office, but for forty years Maria was the dominant force in the Empire as well as in her kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. She followed the Habsburg policy of endeavouring to centralise her domains, and therefore repressed nationalism among Magyars and Czechs, and replaced it by a sense of dependence on a royal house and court. Her son Joseph, when he succeeded her, went a good deal further in this direction and at the same time attempted many internal reforms. He diverged from the traditional Habsburg policy, however, by his resolve to reduce clerical power, which was actually the occasion of a visit of remonstrance by the Pope to Vienna. The position of the Empire was now exceedingly anomalous. For a century past the Emperor had ceased to enjoy in Europe the paramount position indicated in his pretentious title. To one-half of the subjects of the Empire he was only the titular head of their political system, while to the other he was also the advocate and defender of their faith. Joseph desired that his people should be Catholics, not Romanists; but a large proportion were neither. Moreover, the growth, during the eighteenth century, of the spirit of rationalism and scepticism, espe-

H R Empire IIII Hovse
Hovse



H R Empire IIII Hovse of Habsburg /// Collateral hovses \\\
Hovse of Hohenzollern = Tvrkish Empire ▒

cially in France, led to a loosening of the hold of all traditional conceptions over men's minds, and while the jurists of the seventeenth century had already condemned the cumbrous and obsolete machinery of the Empire the wits of the eighteenth made it their laughing stock. Frederick of Prussia spoke of the Diet at Frankfort as "dogs baying the moon," and although the personality of Maria Theresa and the skilful diplomacy of her ministers, especially of Kaunitz (who also served Joseph till his death) were enough to secure the prestige of the House of Austria, the Holy Roman Empire was already doomed.

The French Revolution, in which the daughter of Maria Theresa perished on the guillotine, was the first breaking of a wave which spread over Europe. Napoleon, rising on its crest, replaced the old tyranny by a new one, and dreamed for a brief moment of a new Empire as widely European as that of Charlemagne. Twice he entered the city of Vienna as conquerer, and a daughter of the proudest Imperial house of Europe was given him as a wife, to soften his attitude towards Austria. In 1804 Francis II., alarmed at the extent to which Napoleon was replacing the political divisions of Europe with new ones of his own devising, and fearing to find himself reduced to the status of a mere German monarch, determined to secure his own Imperial claims on a more solid foundation than that of the shadowy electoral Holy Roman Empire by assuming the title of hereditary Emperor of Austria, and two years later he resigned his more showy titles. There is no doubt that Napoleon hoped to emulate Charlemagne in reëstablishing a great European empire on the

Roman model, and as we have seen he went so far as to have his son called King of Rome, after the title worn by so many heirs to the Empire. In abdicating a title which was an empty one to him Francis strengthened his own position by inventing and conferring on himself the more tangible and realistic title of Emperor of Austria. Austria was, and still is, more or less a *façon de parler,* since there is no imperial state which actually bears that name, no people who are distinctively "Austrian" in race. But, as applied to certain of the states which have become attached to the House of Habsburg, either by conquest, inheritance or annexation, the term "Austrian empire," as synonymous with "empire of the Habsburgs," is more convenient and accurate than the ancient and obsolete title which Francis abdicated. Hungary's position needs to be defined later, but it may be said in passing that this kingdom and its dependencies also form an integral part of the Habsburg hereditary dominions, though on a different footing to the other states.

The Napoleonic crisis,[3] therefore, served to strengthen the dynastic empire of the Habsburgs, and, as we shall see, another great revolutionary period—that beginning in 1848 which lasted until Italy finally became free—in reality served the same purpose. The greatest bane of the Habsburgs, as of some of their predecessors on the Imperial throne, was always the attempt to enforce their claims on non-contiguous territory. The modern Austro-Hungarian realm is fairly contiguous and compact, and its problems are now not so much external as internal.

[3] For continuation of historical sketch see Chapter V.

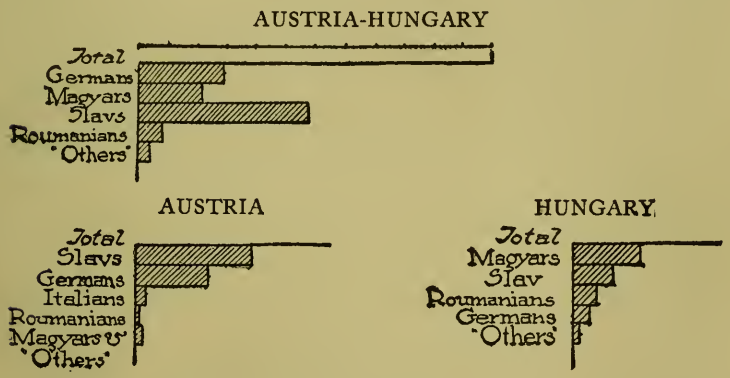
Holy Roman Empire IIII
House

Holy Roman Empire |||| Austrian Hovse of Habsburgh // Collateral branches of Hovse
Hovse of Hohenzollern ≡ Hovse of Savoy \\\\

CHAPTER II

THE COMING OF SLAV AND MAGYAR

WE are all aware that the subjects of the Emperor Francis Joseph are very various in race. For practical purposes it is not necessary here to go fully into the divisions, and still less into the many subdivisions, but a clear understanding must be had of the main stocks from which these people come. Roughly, they may be divided into the Germans, the Slavs, and the Magyars. There is also a population using a Latin tongue and claiming descent



RACES IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

from the Romans who were masters of a great part of what is now Austria-Hungary, which they conquered from Germanic tribes. In eastern Europe they found one of their most formidable opponents in the Dacians, who were only conquered after several wars by Trajan. Transylvania, as well as the basin of the Danube to its mouth,

was included in the ancient Dacian kingdom, and modern Roumania claims to have its origin in this remote period of history. Whether or no the Dacians were themselves of Slav origin, it seems more than probable that in eastern and central Europe the Romans encountered ancient Slav tribes who were incorporated in the empire. The modern Roumanians are the historical descendants of this early Latin conquest, and their language is a Latin tongue similar to the Catalan, and even more to Ladinian or the Romansch of the Grisons in Switzerland. People of Roumanian origin and tongue are found throughout Hungary and in the Austrian coast provinces, but they are most numerous in Transylvania. Buda and Vienna both are on the sites of fortified cities which were seats of Roman government.

In the fourth century came Attila and his Huns, who swept across Europe, and when Attila was gone the Germanic tribes began their migrations, constantly obliterating the Roman frontiers and sweeping down into Italy. On their footsteps, and even beyond them, came another race of more peaceful conquerors—the Slavs. Who and what these people were, and when they made their first appearance in Europe, are still matters for conjecture. The Slavs are identified by some authorities with the ancient Scythians. Many ideas, expressions, and characteristics of these people recorded by ancient writers are similar to those of the Slavs. It is certain that in very ancient times they spread over a great part of western Europe, and it is considered probable that they formed the bulk of the population in the Balkan peninsula and

Greece before the rise of the latter country as a civilised power. The theory that eastern Europe was at a very early date occupied by a Slavonic people rests chiefly on the evidences of an ancient Slavonic language which are to be found, sometimes overlaid with a more recent dialect and sometimes in a singularly pure form, in regions which have not, so far as history shews, been colonised by Slavs. The Slavonic languages are rich and full, and of very ancient origin, approximating most nearly, as does the Lithuanian, to Sanscrit, and thus demonstrating clearly an Indo-European origin. In Roman times the country of the Slavs known as Sarmatia (corresponding with modern Russia, Poland, and Galicia) was a sort of borderland shading off into the unknown. From this land came tribes of Slavic colonists, known by different names, and settled, sometimes peacefully, sometimes by conquest, in different countries. They occupied Bohemia in the fifth century, Moravia a little later, and in Wallachia and Moldavia they met and mingled with the Romanised Dacians. In the Danubian territories they found the Avars, a kindred tribe to the Huns, against whom they had to defend themselves. Some of the Slav tribes paid tribute to the Avars, and submitted to be transplanted in colonies from one district to another, by which process they were transferred to Carinthia and neighbouring territory. The actual extent of the country originally populated by Slavs is somewhat difficult to determine. The seventh century saw a sort of Slav union under a leader, Samo, who appears, however, to have been of Frankish origin. He actually defeated King Dagobert of the Franks in a big

battle. The Byzantine emperor, Heraclius, unconsciously laid the foundations of Servia by inviting the Sorabes (originally from what is now known as Prussia) to come down from the Danube and inhabit Upper Moesia, Lower Dacia, and Dardania, so as to form a bulwark against the Avars. This brought them to the Adriatic coast, while the remaining Roman element took refuge in Ragusa and other coast towns, where, under Italian influence, they preserved their Latin characteristics, so that to this day there is a literary and political feud between the Latins and Slavs. In the early Middle Ages Ragusa became the centre of a real Slavonic civilisation, and her schools and universities were celebrated, while she was the home of men of poetry and science at a time when central Europe was still in the darkness of barbarism.

These Slav peoples, the almost peaceful successors to those lands left vacant by the Germanic tribes, became the dominant race in Eastern Europe, thrusting west towards the Latinised Franks, north to the Baltic, and south to the Adriatic and Ægean, but were not all known as Slavs. That name was given only to the northern tribes, while those living near the Carpathians were known as Sorabes, by which name they are familiar in German history, and are still found as Sorbs in Prussian Lusatia and Saxony, as well as in far distant European Turkey. The Germans also called them Wends, Vends, or Veneti, and the name "Windisch" affixed to the names of places recalls a Slav origin. The greatest of Slav-founded cities is said by some authorities to have been Venice, whose

SLAV PEOPLE FROM THE CICERIA (NEAR TRIESTE)

name certainly seems to bear witness to its origin, as also do many words in common use and some of the distinctive features of its early history.

As a race the Slavs were characterised by a peaceful disposition, compared with that of the tribes with which they had to contend; but this reputation they owed probably more to their agricultural pursuits, in distinction to the pastoral habits of the Huns, Avars, or Germans, than to any special mildness of disposition.

The question of the political organisation and tendencies of the Slavs opens up a very interesting field, since there is no doubt that in such matters they were, and still are, widely differentiated from the Teutonic peoples, whose civilisation may be described as Western. From the earliest times of which we have any record the Slavs have practised those principles of democracy, and especially of communism, which it has been the dream of many modern reformers to introduce into western civilisation. The community of kith and kin was, and still is, the foundation of their social system, but it has expanded, as we see in modern Russia or Servia to-day, to include groups of industrialists or agriculturists. In the years which saw the fiercest Ottoman invasions of Europe colonies of Slavs were placed on the frontiers of the empire, who were, like the Cossacks, organised on a military basis, holding the land free on condition of service. They exhibited, until quite recent times, the most extreme form of communism to be found in Europe, living in one large house divided into sections and holding property absolutely in common. The earliest writers who mention the Slavs comment on

their democratic form of government and love of liberty, and in their history we can trace the actual effect of these traits on their destiny. Despite their peaceful and yet virile character, their love of liberty, their ancient civilisation, and many noble qualities, one after another of the Slav peoples became enslaved. The Mongol invasion kept Russia the vassal of the Great Horde for centuries, and when at last she threw off the yoke she undoubtedly owed much to the infusion of Mongol blood as well as to the influence of her Variag invaders. Bulgaria (a Slavicised Mongol power, ruling a people who were a mixture of Latin and Slav) was the first, and possibly the greatest, Slav power for many centuries, and its rulers received from Byzantium the title of Tsar two centuries before it was adopted in Russia. Bulgaria spread over the whole Balkan peninsula save the extreme south, and in her golden age (the tenth and eleventh centuries) was one of the great European powers. Yet she fell under Byzantine domination, and was ruled by Greek satraps for 170 years. A brief revival in the twelfth century was followed by conquest by Servia. Servia was a purely Slav country which reached the zenith of its power in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when it comprised not only modern Servia but a great part of modern Austria-Hungary—Croatia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia—as well as Montenegro and the provinces of European Turkey. Bulgaria and Servia were both in turn the allies or the enemies of the Eastern Empire, but when Constantinople fell the tide of Ottoman invasion swept over them. Servia lost the whole of her aristocracy and from the fourteenth

A TYPICAL BOSNIAN TOWN

to the nineteenth centuries all these Slav countries were enslaved by the Turks with the exception of Montenegro and the republic of Ragusa.

Another ancient Slav kingdom was Moravia, which in the ninth century was the sovereign Slav power of a territory reaching from what is now Prussia to the Adriatic, but fell to a neighbouring Slav state, that of the Czechs, known as Bohemia. The story of Bohemia must be told elsewhere. It is enough for our present purpose that she became a great and powerful state, but lost her native dynasty, and under the influence of the House of Habsburg came near losing her language and nationality. In fact, not one of the great Slav countries, save Russia, preserved its national independence, and, with the exceptions mentioned, all were living under foreign rule and domination until, in the early years of the nineteenth century, the Slav peoples of the Balkans at last threw off the Turkish yoke. Since then a wonderful movement of Slav renascence has taken place; ancient literatures have been rediscovered and records ransacked for the early history of the Slavonic races. But no amount of glorious tradition can alter the fact which modern, as well as ancient, Slav history makes evident, that the democratic and communistic theory of government does not necessarily lead to efficiency or cohesion in the state. The Slav point of view is essentially parochial and his socialism is opposed to that of Western Europe in being, actually, entirely individualistic, despite his communism, which from the limited nature of its operations is in fact only a slightly expanded individualism. This point of view is illustrated by the care

with which the Slavs protected the rights of minorities, for they did not, and to this day do not, realise the principles of representative government by a majority in which the good of the greatest number is the main ideal. The Slav, in fact, is the natural democrat, and as such was quite unable to contend with peoples organised on a more practical basis. His one chance came when he was ruled by an autocrat, a man strong enough to command at once fear and respect, and so the story of the Slav peoples is the story of their leaders. When a strong man appeared his particular branch of the race became powerful; at his death (or before it, if he attempted to rule the people with their own consent or through councils) his realm was torn by dissensions, and usually, for the sake of peace, offered to a foreign prince strong enough to hold it. There have been Slav dynasties like that of the Premyslides in Bohemia, which had its origin in legend and came to an end in 1306, and the great Tartar-Slav empire of Russia has held its own because a race of despots was raised up to rule it. But no constitutional monarch would have commanded from a Slav people the adoration mingled with fear which the Russian moujik has poured out on his Tsar. It may be that a fresh era of Slav history is about to dawn, but the main difficulty lies with the people themselves.

It has become usual, since the Slav renascence of the last century, to endeavour to trace a great deal of European civilisation back to early Slavonic influences. But although Europe undoubtedly owes to these much gifted people, it is not possible to discount the fact that Latin

influence was the main factor in shaping the history of western Europe and that the Romans, although they may have come in contact with that ancient Slavonic element of which we have spoken, were a strongly individual race whose marked characteristics have left traces on all the lands they ruled which time cannot obliterate. A very interesting theory, however, is the presumed Slavonic origin of at least two Roman emperors, Diocletian, who was born at Spalato, and is said to have taken his Latin name from *Ducla,* the Slav name of that place, and Justinian, whose Latin name is regarded as a literal translation of his own patronymic, the Slav " Pravda," meaning " truth." Slav influence on the Eastern empire is far less obscure, belonging to more recent times and continuing to the latest days of Byzantium.

There is evidence in ancient writers that the Sarmatians —by which name the Romans knew all the Slavonic tribes beyond the empire—were by no means savages. When their incursions into the empire began in the fifth century they understood the use of weapons and even of fortifications, and were passionately fond of music, besides being adepts in the art of agriculture and in certain primitive industries. They were, of course, pagans, and their religion seems to have been of a nature-worshipping character, as might be expected from their pursuits. Their conversion to Christianity was a matter of some time, as they distrusted especially the German sources from which enlightenment might have come, but in the Danubian provinces they met both Byzantine and Latin Christians—a circumstance which laid the foundation for religious dissensions

in times to come. The more northern Slavs, whose country of Moravia had become the centre of a great power, at length invited missionaries from Byzantium, and in the ninth century two brothers, Cyril and Methodius, came to Moravia, carrying with them not only the Christian doctrine but a new version of the Scriptures and a liturgy written in a character composed from Slavonic mingled with Greek. These "apostles of the Slavs" met with great success in Moravia and Slavonia, as they had already done in Lithuania, but the jealousy of the Latin communion was aroused, and, although they went to Rome to vindicate their orthodoxy, and although their version of the Scripture and liturgy was fully recognised by the Latin church, their followers were not able to stand against the opposition of the German prelates and priests. The Slav liturgy passed through Croatia, Servia and Bulgaria into Russia, but was finally lost after a prolonged struggle. One result of the opposition to this new Slavonic form was the preservation of an older one, called "Glagolitza," which still continues to be recognised by the Catholic church in Servia and Croatia.[1] The Cyrillic character survived, however, and is now in use in modified forms in Russia and the Balkan states.

When the schism between the Eastern and Western churches was complete, the Slavs, who stretched in a belt across from the Adriatic to the Bosphorus, were naturally torn by religious dissensions. Of the southern Slavs, the Slovenes were more easily Latinised than the Croats, who offered for a long time a sturdy resistance to any denationalising influence, while Bulgaria and Servia, both

[1] See also Chapter XIII.

HUZULIANS (RUTHENIAN HIGHLANDS),
IN SUMMER DRESS

A GROUP OF RUTHENIANS, BUKOWINA

Christianised from the East, were each in turn anxious to establish a national and independent church. No section of the Slav race can be said to have been distinguished for orthodoxy and devotion to any prescribed church until Russia became orthodox, at the strict command of its rulers.

The chief significance of the religious development of the Slavs from the point of view of this sketch is the extent to which it became identified with their national aspirations. It is not surprising to find that so democratic a people would not submit easily to a tyranny in matters temporal and spiritual alike by a power which was upheld more by tradition and superstition than by the personal force behind it. In this respect the Slavs differed utterly from the Germanic, Gallic, and Latin races to whom the name of Rome represented a power which in time they came to regard as sacred. When the temporal Empire fell the spiritual one succeeded it, until, in 800 A. D., the revival of the Imperial title in the person of the Frankish king, Charlemagne, started a new current of sentiment and divided men's allegiance, instead of centring it still more firmly on Rome, as the Pope had hoped. The Slavonic part of the population always resisted this domination, whether by Pope or Emperor, and thus we find the seeds of the Reformation, sown in England by Wycklyffe, taking root in Bohemia, whence they were never eradicated, and leading to a national struggle with German influences. Even the German reformation was looked at with great distrust by the Bohemian Protestants, who were more in sympathy with Calvin than with Luther. The

unhappy subjection of so large a portion of the Slavs by the Turks kept them from the influences of the Reformation period; hence the Servians, the Bulgarians, and the Roumanians belong to either the Greek or the Latin communion. It is interesting to note that the members of a religious sect of Asiatic origin known as the Bogomiles, whose doctrines had spread through the Balkans and even through southern Europe to France, being obliged after the Turkish invasions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to live under Turkish rule, embraced Mohammedanism rather than become Roman Catholics, as, indeed, did many Serbo-Croatian families.

The second race (historically) whose history we must now briefly trace, arrived upon the European stage in the fourth century, when the Magyars penetrated to the heart of the Slav country. They were of similar origin to the Bulgars, Huns, and Avars, belonging to the same race as the Turks and the Finns. Their orignal habitat is said to have been the Ural-Altai region between Europe and Asia, and they seem to have been in many respects similar to other races of horsemen and nomads who from time to time swept across the great Asiatic plain through the low Ural hills and on through the heart of Russia into Europe. The strange fate which left one colony of these people on the Baltic to become enslaved for a time—a brief time—by a Slav empire, took another down through a pass in the Carpathians to settle on the fertile plains which those mountains partially screen. This migration has the appearance of a deliberate move, although the story that it was accomplished in full marching order is probably

apocryphal. It is now asserted that these conquering bands were accompanied by Slav serfs who fought for their masters, and afterwards cultivated the soil for them. It is said that a million souls passed over in this way, but it is certain that they must have come in several batches spread over a considerable period. The first descent had been made upon (modern) Eastern Roumania but, being defeated there by the Bulgarian Czar, they apparently decided to put the Carpathians between themselves and a foe of such warlike propensities. They then drove a wedge through the Slav peoples, dividing the Czechs from the Slovenes and Serbo-Croatians, and hastening the subjugation of the latter under Latin and German influences.

The Magyars, like all Asiatic nomad tribes, were distinguished for ferocity and virility, and the tales of their savage appearance and behaviour struck terror to the hearts of milder races. They had the dash and spirit of a people trained on horseback, affording a contrast to the imaginative and dreamy Slav, just as their nomadic and pastoral habits were different from his agricultural ones. Intermarriage has very much modified the Magyars and, although it is possible to find among them survivals of, or reversions to, a type which is characteristically Turkish (with the straight black hair, high cheek bone and slanting eye), yet the constant infusion of Slav, German, and Latin blood has made the Magyar race as a whole almost as nondescript as is the British. Every type can be found in Hungary, from the golden-haired Slav or flaxen German to the dark Italian, the swarthy Armenian, gipsy, or Jew.

It is hard to differentiate the true Magyar type, especially as the families whose descent is clearest have often intermarried with foreigners. In character the Magyar has retained certain traits of which we must speak later.

The Magyar idea of government was diametrically opposed to that of the Slavs, having its centre in the idea of a military leader. The early custom of giving freehold rights to families or tribes (and of inviting these from outside if necessary) on the basis of military service, was the origin in Hungary of that small landed nobility which has always been the backbone of the country. One is reminded of the very similar conditions in a region which, however, for various reasons is less homogeneous. In Mongolia each village has a prince or two, all landed nobility and members of a sort of military caste. The intensely aristocratic basis of society in Hungary is in striking contrast with that of the surrounding Slav countries, and yet, by what is on the surface a paradox, Hungary was preserved by it from the extremes of the feudal system. The Middle Ages saw the reduction, under this system, of every non-noble man to the condition of a serf, chained to the land and the chattel of his lord, while universal military service was replaced by professional paid soldiers who were maintained by the feudal lords, but in Hungary the large class of small and yet noble freeholders, all of whose descendants were equally free and noble, and the retention of a military system among the people mitigated the extreme division of society and other abuses which became so terrible a feature in other European countries.

HUNGARIAN HORSE-BOY (CSIKOS)

MAGYAR WOMAN

Although modified in appearance, in customs, and in character by the people they have assimilated, the Magyars have retained, throughout all vicissitudes, an extraordinary homogeneity. Hungary has been a sovereign nation and a kingdom since 1000 A. D., and has never owned allegiance to any monarch who has not been affirmed and crowned by her Estates. Moreover, the Hungarian is the only complete nation under the Austrian crown. Even Bohemia, claiming similar historic rights, does not occupy the same position. Her people are not intact; Czechs are living under Prussian rule, and Czech territory has been reduced by the conquest of neighbouring states. Moreover, there is within Bohemia a second nation, the Germans, with equal rights to the Czechs. Their position is therefore constitutionally different from that of Hungary as a free sovereign state and nation. The rest of the peoples under Austrian rule are detached fragments of nations, remnants of ancient states. Their ties are, in many cases, with the modern states surrounding them rather than with the power which holds them together. That it does hold them—that the House of Habsburg is the connecting link for this heterogeneous collection of states and peoples—is one of the most interesting phenomena in modern history. Other empires have been built up by a similar process of accretion round a reigning house—modern France, for example—but whereas the lands annexed to France became French, both formally and practically, the accretions to the Habsburg realm have retained their racial and political idiosyncrasies in the teeth of the most adverse circumstances.

CHAPTER III

THE STORY OF HUNGARY

HUNGARY became a kingdom in 1000 A. D., and a constitutional monarchy in 1222, and its history since that date has been the eventful record of an entire if small nation; of its developments, constitutional and political; and of its relation to half a dozen States by which it was surrounded and to the great Imperial power which overshadowed them. In every phase this kingdom has preserved its independence and national idiosyncrasies, and cannot be confused or grouped with any other State. It is evident, therefore, that it is no easy task to compress its history within a few pages. It is necessary to confine ourselves to an outline of the historical development of the Magyars, especially as regards their relations to the House of Habsburg.

In 1000 A. D., as we have already seen, Hungary became an independent kingdom by the solemn sanction of the Pope, for which reason the King of Hungary is still known as his Apostolic Majesty. As the Hungarians were by no means all converted—indeed a pagan rising took place in the eleventh century—it is difficult to see why (although the King, Stephen I., was a good Catholic) the Pope should appear in the erection of the kingdom. In the opinion of the age, however, the head of the Roman Empire was the only power who could make kings, and

PROCESSION OF ST. STEPHEN (WHOSE HAND IS CARRIED IN THE GOLDEN CASE), BUDAPEST

this period was one in which the Papal See, under a string of profligate and ambitious Popes, was exerting itself (somewhat unsuccessfully) against the last of the Franconian emperors. The Hungarians were a thorn in the side of the Empire, and had been disastrously defeated by Otho the Great in 955, so that their appeal for recognition was made to the Pope of the day rather than to the Emperor. The confusion which reigned throughout the empire after the end of the Saxonian line found its reflection in Hungary, although that country was not an Imperial State. In the second half of the eleventh century it was under the domination of the Emperor Henry IV. and was a bone of contention between him and his celebrated adversary, the militant Pope Gregory VII. In 1077 Ladislas became king and succeeded in making himself independent and uniting Croatia with his own country, and in the reign of his successor Dalmatia was also added. Croatia remained henceforth as an appanage of Hungary, although retaining her autonomous form of government. An important event in the twelfth century was the arrival of a colony of Saxons who were settled at the foot of the Carpathians in Transylvania. They founded many towns, and enjoyed complete autonomy on the condition of paying taxes, furnishing troops, and recognising the supreme authority of the King in judicial matters. These colonists had an important influence on the development of Hungary, but neither they nor the Slavs within the kingdom, nor those incorporated with it in Croatia, were strong enough to disintegrate the Magyars.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries found Hungary a

great buffer State between east and west. By a war with Russia she had established claims over part of Galicia, while on the south her contest with the Venetians had led to the loss of part of the Adriatic coast. Her famous king, Andrew II., issued a Golden Bull in 1222 which is regarded as the Magna Charta of Hungary. This was directed partly against the abuses and disorders which were the result of the growing power of the Church in Hungary, but it also defines the constitutional position of the Hungarian monarchy, which was to be hereditary in the House of Arpad, although the Magyars never acknowledged any King whose claims were not sanctioned by the Estates, practically the nobility. The most notable clause of the Golden Bull was, however, the last, in which the right of the subject to resist his sovereign in certain contingencies is upheld. So long ago were the doctrines of Rousseau anticipated! The call to arms in Hungary was the sending round of a bloody sword, and the people possessed what was called the right of resistance, without incurring the accusation of high treason. In the time of Matthias Corvinus the levy was fixed at one man in every twenty, but practically all were liable, in one form or another, for military service. The name "hussar" is derived from this custom, "hus" meaning twenty. The thirteenth century also saw a feud with the House of Austria (not the Habsburgs, however, for they had not yet seized the duchy), which captured some Hungarian provinces, but was compelled to restore them. In the wars with Bohemia, which ended finally in the overthrow of the native dynasty of that country, the Hungarians

fought with Austria. At first Bohemia was the victor and the Imperial crown was offered to her king, Ottocar II., but was refused. The confusion in the empire led at last to the election of Rudolf of Habsburg as Emperor, and as Bohemia refused to recognise him or to do homage a combination of her enemies was formed to overthrow her, in which Hungary was included. The death of the grandson of Ottocar in the first year of the fourteenth century almost coincided with that of the last of the Arpads, the ancient native dynasty of Hungary, and thus both kingdoms were obliged to seek a fresh monarch.

Pope Boniface VIII., claiming the right because Stephen I. did homage to the Holy See, in 1308 placed Carl Robert of Anjou, nephew of the King of Naples, on the throne of Hungary. Simultaneously the Emperor gave Bohemia to his son; but, just as Bohemia refused to accept this nomination and turned to the House of Luxembourg, so Hungary resisted Carl Robert, although he was a descendant of Stephen V. through his mother. Wenceslaus of Poland and Otis of Bavaria were crowned in turns, but at length the House of Anjou succeeded in 1310, and in 1370 Louis, son of Carl Robert, also became King of Poland. In his reign Hungary became great and powerful, and was the champion of Christendom against the Turks, the first battle between Magyars and Osmanlis taking place about 1366 on the Danube near the Iron Gates. Louis was also the first Hungarian king to set foot in Italy, where he made a successful expedition, and he annexed Dalmatia and defeated the southern Slavs of Servia and Bosnia. He had no son. His daughter Maria

succeeded him conjointly with her husband Sigismund, but the latter was not only beaten in battle by the Turks but driven into flight by his own subjects, who tried to set up his wife's brother-in-law, Wladyslas of Poland. Sigismund, however, retained his crown, became Emperor in 1411, and King of Bohemia as well as Hungary in 1419. His death without an heir led once more to wars of succession, which continued round the cradle of his posthumous son, although Albert of Austria, who succeeded him as Emperor and King of Bohemia, claimed the Hungarian throne also, by virtue of his wife's rights, as daughter to Sigismund, and by a treaty of succession with that monarch. When the posthumous son died, a native King once more sat on the throne in the person of Matthias Corvinus, son of John Hunyady, who had been appointed governor while the infant king remained in the hands of the Emperor. The latter vainly opposed the choice of Matthias, for he was a strong king and like his father a great warrior, not only defeating Turks and Bohemians, but marching against the Emperor, Frederick of Austria, and actually seizing Vienna in 1485. At his death the usual predicament occurred, for he left no legitimate son, and finally the crown was offered to Wladyslaw of Poland, who had already accepted that of Bohemia (1490). In this reign occurred the terrible peasant insurrection of the Kurucs, which was the ineffectual protest of the serfs against the noble class who monopolised all privileges and treated them as slaves.

The son of Wladyslaw was Louis, who fell on the field of Mohacs fighting against the Turks, and with him fell

the flower of the Magyar warriors. Ferdinand of Austria (brother to the Emperor Charles V. and co-heir with him to the vast empire of their grandfather Maximilian) claimed both Hungary and Bohemia, as the brother-in-law of Louis. We shall see later how he was accepted in Bohemia. In Hungary a large number of the nobles supported him, as they hoped to find protection against the Turks, but another party chose and proclaimed as king John Zápolya (Slavonic by origin, born at Zápolya on the Serbo-Bosnian frontier), and round these rival claims raged a contest which divided the country for years. John made an alliance with the Turks, the former foes of his country, and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan in order to protect himself. Sultan Soliman marched to the gates of Vienna and proved to the unfortunate Hungarians almost as terrible as a friend as if he were a foe. At John's death his infant son was the centre of fresh intrigues and was taken under Turkish "protection," by which means he was deprived of all his territory save Transylvania, where he was given the title of prince. Hungary was divided into three between Zápolya, the Turks, and Austrians, but after a long struggle the last recognised the claims of the two first for a time. The death of young Zápolya without children led to fresh confusion. Transylvania was invaded by the Austrians and the severities practised there led to a general revolt in which the Magyars of Upper Hungary joined. Once more a national king was proclaimed, and appealed for protection to Turkey, but in 1606 the throne was again vacant, and by this time the intrigues which

finally superseded the Emperor Rudolf were well advanced, and Matthias, his brother (afterwards his successor) tried to ingratiate himself with the Magyars by returning them their ancient crown, and promising to respect their rights and privileges. When Ferdinand II. became emperor in 1619, he inherited the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary by the will of his uncle Matthias, and he at once endeavoured to conciliate the *voiëvode* of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor, who from his wise and enlightened rule had become a great influence. The religious intolerance of Ferdinand, which soon became apparent in his ruthless persecutions of the Bohemian Protestants, led Bethlen to declare against him and to join in the final struggle made by Bohemia to regain her independence. Some of the nobles of Hungary elected Bethlen as their king at the same time that the Czechs chose the Elector Palatine, and at the fateful battle of the White Mountain, when Bohemian liberty was lost, Bethlen was so reduced that he was obliged to come to terms with Ferdinand by renouncing his claim to Hungary and keeping only his original princedom of Transylvania, with certain other towns and duchies. At his death, in 1629, he was succeeded by the famous George Rakoczy, who endeavoured to strengthen his position by negotiations with France—the hereditary enemy of the Habsburgs—and Sweden, the champion of the Protestants. As a consequence he drew upon himself the attention of the Porte. His territories were invaded and he himself killed, and a similar fate overtook his successor (who had made alli-

ance with the Emperor) after which Transylvania had to accept the nominee of the Ottomans, Michael Apafy.

The Magyars continued to alternate between struggles for national and religious liberty with Austria and even more desperate struggles with the Turks. The presence of this terrible foe eventually united them with the Imperial forces, and at the battle of St. Gothard, or Körmend, the Magyars had the honour of sharing in a victory which was the turning point of the Ottoman invasion of central Europe. The Turks, however, retained their Hungarian provinces and took several fortresses. The yoke of Austria proved even heavier than that of the Turk, and in the reign of Leopold I. (1657-1705) an insurrection broke out, headed by Emerich Tököly, in which the Turks were again sought as allies against the Austrians. The effort proved abortive and Leopold exacted a terrible vengeance and enacted that the ancient right of election to the monarchy should be entirely abolished, and the crown made hereditary in his own family. The diets, both of Hungary and Bohemia, were terrorised into assent, and having secured, as he thought, their allegiance, the Emperor recommended the Imperial wars against the Turks which gradually rolled them back. The Servians, who were enthralled by Turkey, aided in these wars, and colonies of them were invited to Austrian domains and to Hungary, settling even near Buda.

Transylvania was then added to the Austrian crown, and Prince Michael Apafy sent to Vienna, but smouldering

discontent again flamed into insurrection, which was headed by Francis Rakoczy and spread to Hungary. As this synchronised with the war of the Spanish Succession, the Emperor had his hands full, and France sympathised with Rakoczy, while the Bavarians, as allies of the French, attacked Austria.

In 1707 the diet of Hungary, held at Onod, deposed Joseph I. from being King of Hungary, but although Rakoczy was virtually the ruler of the country, they did not offer him the crown, and, with the traditional policy of obtaining outside help, offered it to the Elector of Bavaria, who, however, declined it. The delay gave time for the war of the Spanish Succession to come to an end, and the Imperial forces succeeded in putting down the insurrection. Rakoczy fled to Paris, where he is a familiar and picturesque figure in the memoirs of the time. The Hungarian diet agreed, in 1711, to a treaty which, while acknowledging Joseph I. as king, granted an amnesty and restored the ancient rights of Hungary, with the exception of the "right of resistance." In the next reign Charles VI. acknowledged the elective rights of the Magyars, although he afterward secured the succession of his house in the person of his daughter by the Pragmatic Sanction. In his reign Prince Eugene of Savoy completed the defeat of the Turks by the taking of Belgrade, but the Emperor was too much occupied to push the advantage gained, and a later campaign was less successful. By the Treaty of Belgrade all Servia was ceded to the Porte.

With the accession of Maria Theresa came a change in

the relations of the Magyars to their rulers. Bavaria, aided by France, and Prussia, the new military state which was rising into prominence, opposed the accession of Maria and the election of her husband as Emperor. She fled to Pozsony, where she appeared in the diet with her infant son in her arms, appealing to the loyalty of her brave Magyars. She addressed them in Latin, not in German, and promised to respect their rights if, in return, they would help her with their swords. The basis of her relations with them was a romantic feeling on their part of personal devotion, which, however, did not prevent them, in their calmer moments, from looking well to their own interests. Largely by their aid Maria Theresa was eventually established firmly on the throne, and her husband became Emperor, and she never forgot her gratitude to her Magyar subjects and spoke of them with her dying breath.

The cordial relations established between Maria Theresa and the Magyars was the worst danger to the preservation of their nationality which they had yet encountered, for her affection for them did not interfere with her desire for centralisation. Maria's influence drew the great nobles to her court at Vienna, where marriages were arranged and friendships formed outside the circle of their own nation. The attractions of the court did not, however, appeal to the smaller nobles, who were, moreover, opposed to Maria's policy in freeing the peasant from serfdom. Another point of dissension between her and the Magyars was the position of the southern Slavs, especially those included in the military frontier. The

Empress desired to keep them all under the crown. The Magyars would not sanction this, and consequently many of the frontier colonies of Servians emigrated to Russia.

Under Maria Theresa the Magyars gradually lost some of their independence. They were deprived of their power of voting certain indirect taxes, and of their independence in finance generally. All budgets had to be presented to a court of accounts in Vienna. They also lost certain political powers which had formerly belonged to the provincial diets, but were now vested in a royal lieutenant. The Empress refused to ratify the right of resistance, but in introducing conscription into her dominions she excepted Hungary and the Tyrol. She founded military schools, and took public instruction under State instead of Church control.

In 1773 the Jesuits were suppressed in Hungary, as in the rest of Europe, and in the reign of Joseph II. the Church was deprived of many privileges, and a real blow was struck at the power of the hierarchy throughout Austria by the confiscation of the land of foreign bishops. But in his campaign of reform Joseph was not content with curbing the power of the Church; he determined also to undermine that of the nobles of his realm by granting full rights of ownership in the land they cultivated to the peasants of Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and Hungary. Although many of his reforms were enlightened and beneficial, the harshness of his rule was unbearable, and the excellence of his intentions did not prevent his schemes from going astray by reason of hasty execution. Frederick the Great of Prussia said of him: "Joseph always

MAGYAR PEASANT GIRLS IN HOLIDAY DRESS

takes the second step before the first," and it was the fate of this well-intentioned monarch to fail in everything he undertook and to die when all his territories, especially Hungary, were seething with discontent. Joseph never convoked the Diet of Hungary, and would not be crowned with the crowns either of St. Stephen of Hungary or St. Venceslas of Bohemia. He declared that the only business of the Estates was to deliberate on matters presented by the sovereign. The result of this was to begin a genuine nationalist revival among both Magyars and Czechs.

Joseph's successor, Leopold (1790-1792), made concessions both to Church and the Magyar and Czech kingdoms, and he carried on the war with Turkey, which was the hope of the enslaved Servians. When he died the new French republic declared war on his successor as King of Hungary and Bohemia (for he had not yet been elected Emperor), and in the wars that followed Austria Prussia, and the German States combined against the common enemy, and the Hungarians, together with the frontier Slavs and Croatian Pandours, distinguished themselves in every battle. Napoleon, after a victorious entry into Vienna, endeavoured by intrigues to seduce the Hungarians from their allegiance to the house of Habsburg, promising them a national king and full recognition of their independence. The bait was not taken, but the Magyars got little reward for their faithfulness to the House of Habsburg. The land was drained to supply soldiers, and fell out of cultivation, and the exchequer was exhausted by subsidies. When, after many vicissitudes, Francis was once more firmly seated on the throne, he

would not convoke the Hungarian Diet until he was forced to do so at last by his failure to levy taxes (1821-25). The selfishness of the aristocracy was now, as ever, the great barrier to national progress; but nevertheless this was a period of a great revival. Szechenyi used Magyar in the debates of the Diet, a National Academy and Theatre were founded, and many works of public benefit were begun throughout the country, while in 1833 the Diet passed enactments ameliorating the condition of the peasants, and in 1847 the Hungarian nobility—not the magnates or great nobles, but the smaller nobility, who were, and are, the backbone of the country, relinquished their class privileges, thus placing themselves in the forefront of the liberal movement. The whole of Europe was now seething with the ideas of individual liberty and national independence, and in 1848 the Magyars were carried away with the wave of revolution and never afterwards, despite temporary checks, abandoned their programme of national development and complete political independence.

This date begins a new era, and brings us almost to the period of contemporary history.

CHAPTER IV

THE STORY OF BOHEMIA

THE derivation of the name Bohemia has been the subject of more than one legend, but the one most usually accepted relates that a Celtic tribe, driven from Gaul, settled in the mountain-girt land and called it, after their own name, the land of the Boii—Bohemia. The name "Czech" has a similar legendary derivation, and the origin of the earliest national dynasty is also carried back to a mythical period. If an interesting fragment of an early poem (about which there is much controversy) is to be believed, the ancestors of the Czechs were originally a typical Slav people, holding the land on communistic tenure, but eventually deciding, as did the Jews, to choose a leader from their number and to reorganise their society on a monarchical basis.

Still in the more or less legendary period of history we find Bohemia forming part of the great Slav confederacy of which Moravia, under Swatopluk, was the head. Against this Slav union was arrayed the great Frankish empire of Charlemagne, and the beginning of a conflict which was to last throughout the whole of the Dark and Middle Ages is found in the resistance of Moravia to the Christianising efforts of Charlemagne and his descendants. Charlemagne, we know, regarded himself as the champion and head of Christian Europe, and bishop-

rics were established throughout his wide domains, one of which, the bishopric of Regensburg, included Bohemia. Moravia, in the zenith of its power, defeated Charlemagne, and decided to counteract the Frankish influence by turning to the East for its Christianity. Nothing illustrates more clearly the intimate connection in the Slav mind between religious and national life than this act. The Latin church had its emissaries at the gates of Moravia, but they represented that Teutonic influence which the Slavs, even at this early period, felt to be the most dangerous enemy of their national independence. The result was the mission of Cyril and Methodius, of Thessalonica, to Moravia, where they had at once the greatest success. They came armed with a Slavonic form of the liturgy, some of the books of the Bible and the early Fathers, written in a character easily read by the Slavs, as it was formed from an old Slavonic character combined with Greek. Nothing was more certain to disarm Moravian and Bohemian suspicions than the fact that they thus obtained a Slavonic form of worship.

The opposition of the Teutonic clergy to this encroachment on what they had hoped to secure as their own preserves led to more than one visit of the apostles of the Slavs to Rome, but their orthodoxy was completely acknowledged by Pope Adrian II. and Methodius was recognised as Archbishop of Moravia and Pannonia. The Slavonic ritual is believed to have spread to Bohemia,[1] but that country remained under the bishopric of Regensburg,

[1] For further account of the history of the Slavonic ritual see Chapter XIII.

and the use of any but the Latin form was naturally discouraged. The dispute between the Latin and Slavonic forms of Christian worship continued to have a semi-political character. The Emperors, desiring especially to Teutonise, were the supporters of the German bishops, while the Pope was by no means averse to retaining the Moravians and their church in friendly relations as a check on the Emperor. The intrusion of a fresh and pagan element, however, broke up these political combinations altogether, and a fresh phase of Slavonic history begins in which Bohemia no longer plays a subservient part. This epoch-making event was the Magyar invasion of the ninth century, which was invoked partly by the Emperor Arnulf, who violated all Christian principles by calling in pagan tribes to fight against Christian Moravia. The Magyars not only came and conquered, but, having colonised the fertile central plain, by their eruption they cut the Slav confederacy in two and destroyed forever the chances of a Slav dominion in central Europe. Moravia was utterly crushed, but Bohemia seems to have rather benefited at first by the destruction of her overshadowing neighbour.

Already the Bohemians had begun that chain of definite relations which was to connect them with the Empire, and at this period it was obviously essential that they should recognise their former enemies as their only possible protectors against the Magyar tribes. They paid tribute in oxen and silver, an exaction which Henry the Fowler imposed in the time of St. Václav in the year 928 A. D. Václav was compelled to this submission by the

invasion of his territory, and his act, which first placed Bohemia under a German yoke, was resented by many of his people. Václav had recognised the jurisdiction of the see of Regensburg and this estranged some of the Bohemians from Christianity. The piety of Václav, and his death at the hands of his brother while hearing mass, have caused him to be canonised as the patron saint of Bohemia. Boleslav the "Terrible" was unable to resist the German arms and also paid tribute, and in the tenth century Bohemia was also torn by conflicts between Christians and pagans, as well as by disputes between her nobles and reigning family. In the eleventh century the period of national greatness for the Czechs may be said to have begun in earnest. Parts of Poland (Silesia) and of Hungary were conquered, and St. Stephen, the first Christian king of Hungary (who is said to owe his conversion to a Bohemian monk) agreed to an arrangement whereby the northern part of Moravia was ceded to Bohemia, and remains a province of the Bohemian crown, while the southern portion was incorporated with Hungary. The Slovaks of northern Hungary, a race akin to the Czechs, and speaking the same language (albeit an archaic and dialectical form of it), are the remains of the Moravian population, which thus passed under the Hungarian crown.

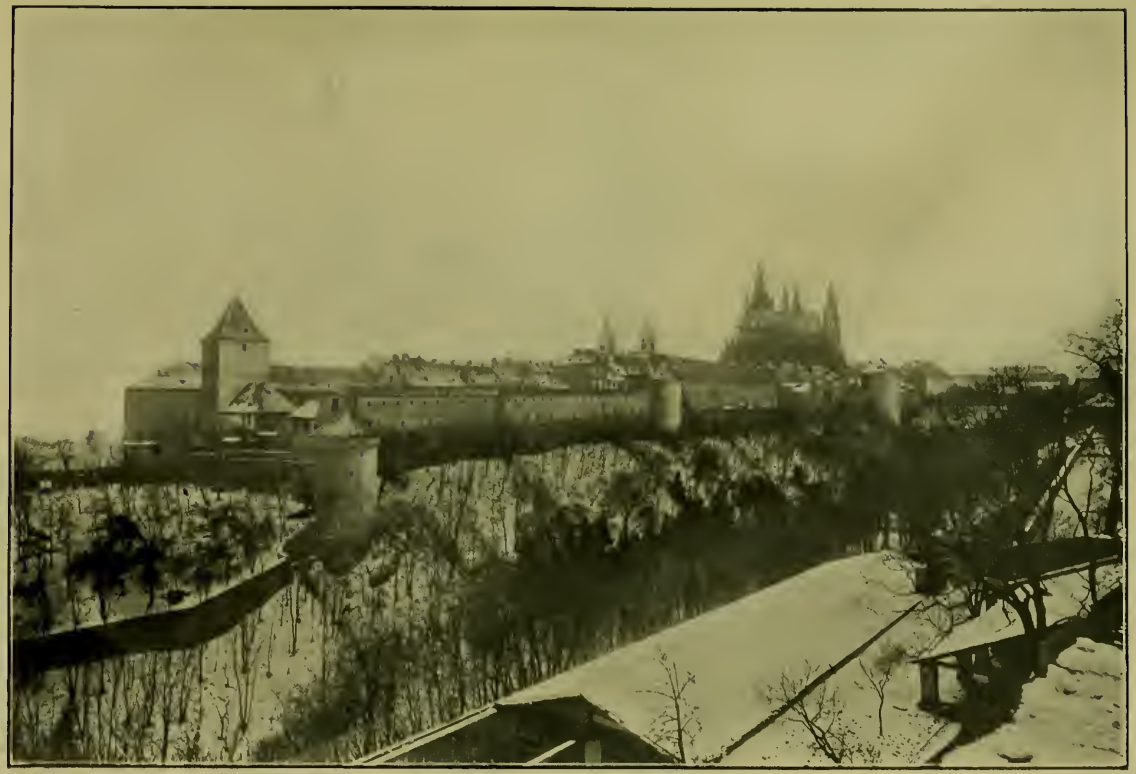
The anti-German feeling of the Bohemians was revived at this period by the attempts made by the Teuton Emperors to limit the expansion and retard the growth of the Bohemian dukedom, and so fierce did the race war become that Duke Sobeslav actually decreed the expulsion of all Germans from his domains. By this time the tributary

position of Bohemia had been modified, as, by a treaty with Lothair, the latter recognised the right of the Bohemians to make their own elections, which were only to be ratified by the Emperor. Another step forward was the inclusion of their Duke in the elections of the Empire. The reader of the first chapter of this book will remember that the procedure at these elections was not definitely fixed till the thirteenth century, but the position and prerogatives of the elector states were already partially established in the eleventh, and the fact that Duke Bretislav became an elector about 1050 marks a distinct step forward in Bohemian evolution. At the end of the eleventh century the strength and importance of Bohemia were recognised more signally. The Duke Vratislav offered his help to the Emperor Henry IV. in his life and death struggle with Pope Gregory VII., and was rewarded with the title of king, which, however, was not inherited by his successors but fell into abeyance. Nevertheless, Bohemia was partially released from her tributary condition, on condition of finding so many soldiers for the Imperial service. The death of Vratislav ushered in a period of disorders and racial strife, which were aggravated by the ambitions of the Emperor, of the House of Saxony, who came to the Imperial throne in 1126. By one of those kaleidoscopic changes in policy of which history has so many examples we next find Bohemia, under a wise and able duke, as the ally and friend of the Empire, helping to elect Frederick Barbarossa to the throne. Vladislav, the duke of the period, was not only a reforming ruler within his own domains but anxious to secure, by participating in Im-

perial affairs, the greatness of his country from the European point of view. His ambition led him to promise help to Barbarossa in his Italian campaigns, a pledge which the Bohemian Estates, standing on their constitutional rights, were by no means inclined to fulfil. They at once declared they were not bound to raise soldiers for foreign warfare. Nevertheless Vladislav got his troops and as a reward Frederick bestowed once more the kingly title upon Bohemia, where it became hereditary, not, however, in the reign of Vladislav or his son but in 1212, when it was confirmed in the Premysl dynasty by the Golden Bull then issued.

Until the first years of the fourteenth century Bohemia remained under the native dynasty of the Premyslides, and toward the end of the thirteenth century Premysl Ottocar II. became the head of a dominion which recalls the fleeting power of Svatopluk. He was King of Bohemia and Moravia, Silesia, and Lusitania, and by conquest and annexation he ruled for a short time over Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola: that is, almost from the gates of Berlin to the Adriatic. This was the golden period of Czech history, for at no subsequent time did a native king enjoy such power.

The process of Germanisation began in Bohemia, even under the native rulers, with the emigration of German colonists to the frontier districts and the settlement of German traders in the towns. These colonists and traders frequently obtained special privileges and were practically autonomous. The Slav races have never been a conspicuously town-building people, and the Czechs in Bohemia



HRAD'CANY (ROYAL CASTLE), PRAGUE

were mainly agriculturists, leaving all trade and commerce to the Germans. A fourteenth century writer comments on the danger of the growing influence of the Germans on the Czech nationality. When the Slav population was reduced to serfdom under the feudal lords foreigners always retained their privileges. Thus the German municipalities had a free and settled government, and were fostered by the king as helping to check the ambitious nobles, at the same time that the native population was reduced to abject serfdom. Although the Czechs were encouraged by their national rulers to take part in this municipal life, the jealousy between the two races proved an obstacle.

John of Luxembourg succeeded the last of the Premyslide dynasty, having married the princess Elizabeth (a daughter of the house), whom he treated with great cruelty. He was an insatiable fighter, spending most of his time away from Bohemia engaging in any dispute which was going on. He lost his sight from a wound, and appears in English history as the blind King of Bohemia, who was killed at Crecy, in 1346, where he was assisting his friend and relative, Philip of Valois, against the English. His crest of three feathers and his most inappropriate motto, "Ich dien," familiar to English people as borne by the Prince of Wales, are an inheritance from the Black Prince, the victor of Creçy.

The reign of his son, Charles IV., who was elected Emperor in 1347, marks a second golden age for Bohemia, and although he was not a Czech he is called the "Father of his people." He was a beneficent monarch,

beautified Prague, and founded the university there. Moreover, as Charles was Emperor, and as he always regarded Prague as his home, the Bohemian capital became also the capital of the Holy Roman Empire and the foremost city of Europe in consequence. By the Golden Bull of 1355 Charles finally settled the constitutional position of Bohemia, which was no longer tributary but was one of the electors of the Electoral College of the Empire. It is believed that there was a considerable Bohemian literature of this early period, but unfortunately only a few original MSS. have been preserved. In the same Golden Bull, by which Charles established the law of Germany throughout his domains, there is a passage which is interesting in view of the constantly recurring contest between the German and Czech languages. It provides that the families of the King of Bohemia, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and Margrave of Brandenburg, who are bound to speak German from the cradle, must also learn Slav from the age of seven, a provision which illustrates very clearly the extent to which Germany, at this period, was inhabited by Slav peoples, and the tenacity with which they preserved their language.

In the next reign began the terrible religious struggles which were almost to destroy Bohemia. It was a period of religious upheaval. The great schism which had rent the Romish Church, and set up a divided Papal authority at Rome and at Avignon, had shaken men's faith in the infallibility of the Church, while the rapacity of the great ecclesiastical lords had sorely tried their patience. John Huss, the national hero of Bohemia (who was influenced

by the English reformer, Wyckliffe) stood for the Czech people, their ancient language and rights, against the aggressions of the German lords, spiritual as well as temporal. As the result of changes in the constitution of the University of Prague, introduced at the instigation of Huss, the German masters and students left the university in a body and migrated to Leipsic. The Emperor Charles had intended it to be the real intellectual centre of his empire, and five "nations" were represented on its councils. The Czechs, however, were swamped by the German element, and Huss persuaded the king to an alteration which would have secured their supremacy. Until this time Latin had been the written language of Bohemia, the tongue of its schools and of its church services. Huss retired into the country and poured out pamphlets and books in Czech denying the supremacy of the Pope, denouncing the sale of indulgences, and endeavouring to stimulate the national pride of the Czechs and to purify their written language by eliminating Latinisms. His death lighted a flame throughout the country, but his followers went much further than he in heresy and eventually split up into many sects, an unfortunate division which hastened their final overthrow. Before this came, however, the Czechs had become the terror of Europe and the Pope preached a crusade against them. Had not internal jealousies turned them against each other, and had not the stern, but really religious, spirit of their early days been lost in dogmatic hair-splittings and in the lawless habits of freebooters, the Hussites might have successfully founded a new Czech state. As it was, to secure peace, the

majority of the nobles offered the crown to the Emperor Sigismund (who was, in fact, the legitimate heir) on the condition that their nationality and religion should be respected.

It is interesting to note, at this point, an early connection between the two great houses of Hohenzollern and Habsburg. Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burg-graf of Nürnberg, had been the supporter, if not the proposer, of Rudolf of Habsburg for the Imperial crown in 1273. Now the Imperial crown had passed to the house of Luxembourg—the chief opponents of the Habsburgs—and we find another Frederick of Hohenzollern assisting the Emperor Sigismund in the wars against the Bohemian sect of the Utraquists, and receiving as a reward the margraviate of Brandenburg. Strange that the ancestor of the strictly Protestant kings of Prussia should have won his first promotion by fighting for Catholicism against freedom of conscience!

In the fifteenth century Bohemia again had a national king in the person of the wise and valiant George of Podiebrad, who was the first non-Catholic king in the history of Europe, and the only Protestant king of Bohemia. His position was not at first, however, that of a heretic (who at this period of history would have been unrecognised by Pope and Emperor), since he actually undertook at his accession to suppress "heresy," and was so anxious to secure a legal coronation that he borrowed two orthodox bishops from Hungary. The Utraquist church, to which he belonged, did not, in fact, own that it was heretical but claimed to be a return to a purer and

more primitive form of the Apostolic Church. The Catholic opposition, however, made it difficult for George to retain his position, and, as he had no son, he recommended the Bohemian diet to elect as his successor a foreign prince, Vladyslav of Poland. Vladyslav was also elected King of Hungary in 1490, thus uniting the two crowns. His son was that Louis whose death on the fateful field of Mohacs, fighting against the Turks, marks such an important era in the history of Austria-Hungary. The House of Habsburg was by this time ruling over nearly all Europe, for the enormous territory of Maximilian had just passed to his two grandsons; Charles, the elder and Emperor, taking Spain and the Burgundian lands, and Ferdinand, Germany and the hereditary possessions of the Austrian house. Bohemia was, of course, a state of the Empire, and her king had before now been elected Emperor. Now the case was reversed. Ferdinand, afterwards Emperor, claimed by his marriage contract and connection to be heir to the Bohemian crown, and was in fact duly accepted. Although he was known to be a stern and rigid Catholic Bohemia did not fear so much for her religious as for her national privileges and her power over the dependencies, Moravia and Silesia; and her Estates elected Ferdinand as King (1526), thus originating the connection, so long feared and avoided, of the House of Austria with Bohemia. This election, principally secured by the bribery of one of the influential nobles, was the beginning of a period of conflict between the constitutional rights of the class to which that noble belonged and autocracy, in the persons of the Habsburg rulers.

The religious question has always played so important a part in the history of Bohemia that it cannot be passed over at this point without further explanation. In the latter half of the fifteenth century a religious community was founded which, though for a long time known as the "Bohemian Brotherhood," [2] is now familiar to us as the Moravians, who are specially celebrated for their success in mission work. Originally resembling the Quakers of England and America, this was essentially a humble, peace-ensuing community, and the steadfast fervour of its adherents resisted all persecution.

Bohemia had become, after the peasant rising in Germany, a refuge for the persecuted Anabaptists, and an attempt made to affiliate these militant Christians with the Brotherhood prejudiced Ferdinand against the latter. The beginning of the sixteenth century had seen, in the setting up of printing presses, a powerful aid to the dissemination of new doctrines, and the successful revolt of Luther against the Papacy and the Confession of Augsburg encouraged the Bohemian heretics to hope for a surer foundation of their religious privileges. They had to contend, however, not only with the Catholics and the Emperor, but with the Utraquists, the historical descendants of the Hussites, who had secured the recognition of their church by the Pope, and were by no means favourable to the more extreme Protestant sects. Therefore, although all the Protestants were unanimous in resisting Ferdinand's attempt to bring uniformity into the Church in his dominions, the Bohemian Brothers were ultimately

[2] The Bohemian name was "Unity of the Brethren."

the scapegoats, and were finally expelled from every part of the kingdom save Moravia. It is interesting to find that the Estates of this ancient and long-subject kingdom retained sufficient independence to protect these persecuted Christians and actually to defy the Emperor when he demanded their expulsion from Moravia.

The Habsburgs were from the first bigoted opponents of the Reformed religion. Charles V. did not appreciate at the Diet of Worms, in 1521, either the personal force of Luther or the movement which he represented, still less the extreme heretical sects. In Bohemia, as in the rest of their possessions, the Austrian Habsburgs attempted to suppress Protestantism by persecution, just as the Spanish house tried to stamp it out in the Netherlands. To be "made a Catholic" became a threat of punishment from mother to child. In Bohemia estates were transferred wholesale to a horde of foreigners, while in Styria the entire nobility, excepting seven families, were deprived of their estates. The leading thinkers of the day were driven abroad. The growth of Protestantism in Germany, however, went on by leaps and bounds and reacted on the rest of Europe. The Smallkaldic League of Protestant Princes was founded in 1542, and, although the death of Luther four years later removed a great pillar of the Reformation, the movement continued to spread and, at the death of Ferdinand, his son Maximilian, who succeeded him, was more tolerant to Protestantism and especially to the doctrines of Luther.

The religious question in Bohemia was, however, by no means settled. The Bohemians wanted a national church

as a rallying point, for they resented the Germanising influences of the Lutherans. Ferdinand had succeeded in gaining from the Pope concessions to the Utraquists, which, as mentioned already, gained them a position as a recognised church. But from this time onward Utraquism, divorced from the sentiment of national and religious independence, ceased to be a force in Bohemian history. For a time it retained its own consistory, but its members were gradually absorbed either by the Catholic or Protestant communities. The Bohemian brothers were rent by dissensions which impaired their influence as a national party. Meanwhile a powerful organisation had been for some little time at work in Bohemia—the newly founded Jesuit order—and in the period of peace from internal wars and consequently of development, which followed the accession of the House of Habsburg to the Bohemian throne, the Jesuits became extremely influential through their traditional policy of educating children and arranging marriages for their pupils. In the last quarter of the sixteenth century a fresh campaign of persecution began against the Bohemian Brothers, whose quondam protectors, some of the Bohemian nobles, were turned against them by Jesuit influences. The opposition of the Moravian Estates was the only check to this movement, although it had no very strong support from Rudolf, the son of Maximilian. The lack of a rallying point for religious and national feeling, together with the influence of the Jesuits, combined at this period to undermine the national sentiment of the Czechs.

With the decline and death of Rudolf came the be-

ginning of the last struggle for Bohemian independence, provoked largely by his growing encroachments on national privileges. At first the struggle took the form of intrigues to supplant him by his brother Matthias, but out of the tangled web one line gradually disengaged itself—the possibility of freeing the country forever from the tyranny of the Habsburgs,—and in this movement the aid of Bethlen Gabor, prince of Transylvania, who was chosen by some Magyar nobles to be prince of Hungary, was a stimulating factor. The Elector Palatine, whose wife was a daughter of James I. of England, became King of Bohemia—the Winter King—in 1619, after the solemn deposition of Ferdinand II., who had succeeded Matthias both as king and Emperor. The Bohemian revolt was, however, predestined to failure. In the first place it had no real support from the mass of the people, who had been reduced from the condition of a free peasantry to that of serfdom during the feudal period. This process, which reduced the free communistic Slav to the level of a chattel of his lord, so that he could be sold (and was) with land or fish ponds, began as early as the time of Boleslav the Cruel, when that duke replaced the judges of the "Zupa," or village councils, with his own nominees, who were able to sell their offices or make them hereditary. The result was to form a class of official nobles, who oppressed the people and with the money obtained bought up their land, while at the same time the growth of feudalism throughout Europe, and the number of small wars in which prisoners were often sold, completed the work of enslavement. The profession of arms was now confined

to the paid soldiers, who became under the feudal lords instruments of oppression to the helpless serfs. In the fourteenth century, under the beneficent rule of Charles IV., some improvement was effected in the position of the people, but the religious wars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries undid this good and reduced the peasants to misery. Naturally these serfs did not see any prospect of gain in supporting the nobles in a fresh war. They might, perhaps, have joined in the revolt if their demands had been listened to, but they had been to a great extent released from the fear of religious persecution by concessions made by the Emperor, and felt nothing but horror at the prospect of a war which would bring them no benefits in the shape of political and social rights. Then there was the lack of a really strong leader, for the Elector was singularly unfitted for the post, while the fatal mistake which the Bohemians constantly made of intriguing with German states (whose loyalty to the Emperor was a matter of convenience) was also against the success of the revolt. At the battle of the White Mountain (November 8, 1620), the Imperial troops put the Protestant army to flight, the chest containing all the charters of Bohemian privileges was sent to Ferdinand at Vienna, and in the following year the Bohemian leaders were executed, the constitution was suppressed, and the landed property confiscated and apportioned to foreigners—Germans, Italians, French, and Spaniards. The university became a Jesuit college and German replaced Latin as the literary and official language. From this time till early in the nineteenth century—nearly two centuries—Bo-

A BOHEMIAN CASTLE

STREET IN TABOR, BOHEMIA

hemia was in a state of lethargy, and it was not until after 1815 that the national movement recommenced in earnest.

Ferdinand and his successors ruled Bohemia with iron despotism. Moreover, in the heart of that kingdom was a disintegrating force in the German settlements and colonies which represented the prosperous commercial life of the country. The really national industry of mining which was the mainstay of the country and at its centre (Kutna Hora) enthusiastically Protestant, was entirely wiped out by Ferdinand's persecutions. The Protestant nobles specially fell under the ban, and Protestants of any rank were driven abroad while their places were filled with German Catholics, and under the influence of these new masters the people began to forget their national language and traditions. In the course of the Thirty Years' War, it is true, the victories of Gustavus Adolphus led to the partial return of the Protestant nobles; but the sufferings of Bohemia, which was one of the principal battlegrounds, and particularly of Prague, which was occupied more than once by each army in turn and sacked of its artistic treasures, more than counterbalanced, from the point of view of national progress, the benefits of the Protestant victories.

When Charles VI., who succeeded Ferdinand, was bent on securing the succession of his daughter to all his dominions he convoked the Bohemian Estates to obtain their adherence to the Pragmatic Sanction. This was granted after deliberations lasting about a year, but the Estates, while confirming the hereditary succession of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine, reserved their right to choose for

themselves should that dynasty fail. Taken in conjunction with various laws and enactments, in which the Habsburgs recognised the elective powers of the Bohemian Estates, this act forms a strong link in the chain of evidence on which the Czechs base their "historic rights." Maria Theresa was actually crowned at Prague, and the Czechs have never abandoned their contention that this is juridically essential, since they contend that their country belongs to the Habsburgs, not by conquest but with the consent of their Estates and people.

The succession of Maria Theresa, in 1740, saw unhappy Bohemia invaded by the Bavarians and Prussians before it was finally secured again to the House of Habsburg, and in the settlement part of Silesia remained in the hands of Prussia, being lost to the Bohemian crown. Maria Theresa, though a wise ruler, was a stern mistress to the Czechs, but she sanctioned an important reform for one section of them, the peasants, who by her efforts were released from their condition of serfdom. After being crowned at Prague, she took the national crown to Vienna, deprived the Estates of the control, hitherto exercised, of the money they contributed toward the Imperial army, arranged that appeals should go to the High Court of Vienna, and that the Chancery of Prague should be absorbed in that of the Imperial Court. A more beneficent measure was the modification of the old criminal law, which was made uniform with that of the rest of the Austrian dominions, while schools were founded in which, however, the language taught was to be German, not Czech. Maria Theresa's son Joseph was not a bigoted Catholic,

but he resented the refusal of his Protestant subjects to conform to either one or the other of the confessions of faith recognised by the great Protestant sects. As the Bohemians had always desired religious independence and a national church, they were not prepared to accept any confession of German origin. Joseph also attempted internal reforms which were not acceptable to the Czechs, and in his desire to form a strong centralised state he adopted a general policy of denationalisation and the restriction of all rights and liberties which might tend to foster a national feeling.

At the same time the suppression of the Jesuits removed one of the most insidious of the forces at work within the Czech nation, and a genuine revival began slowly but surely to awaken under the stimulating force of so much opposition. It was at first purely literary. In 1793 a Chair of Czech was established at Prague University, and in 1816 the National Museum was founded at Prague for the collection of all kinds of Bohemian antiquities. Immediately began a controversy over ancient manuscripts and relics in which the champions of national greatness combated the assertions of German critics, who would not allow that the Czechs could have possessed any civilisation which had not come from German sources.

A great stimulus to all the branches of the Slav race was given, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, by the heroic struggle in which the Servians and Bulgarians threw off the Ottoman yoke. Then the Greeks began to dream of a similar exploit, but were roughly checked by Austria, who used all her influence to prevent

Russia from going to war with Turkey and so helping the Balkan states to liberty. Her narrow, conservative attitude was as significant of her position toward the Slavs as was the attempt to repress the growth of liberalism and nationalism in the German states of her real place in modern Europe. Another stimulus was given to the southern Slavs—the Slovenes, Croatians, and Dalmatians—and indirectly to the Czechs, by the French occupation, during the Napoleonic period, of what was called Illyria—the Adriatic provinces. Under French influence there was a revival in literature and art which afforded genuine support to the renascent sentiment of Slav patriotism.

From that time until 1848 the national spirit of the Slav peoples, and particularly of the Czechs, grew daily stronger, strengthened continually by the researches of antiquarians who found many traces of the ancient Bohemian civilisation and the literary and artistic achievements of the Slavs, while the studies of their historians confirmed them in their pride in their national and historic greatness.

CHAPTER VI

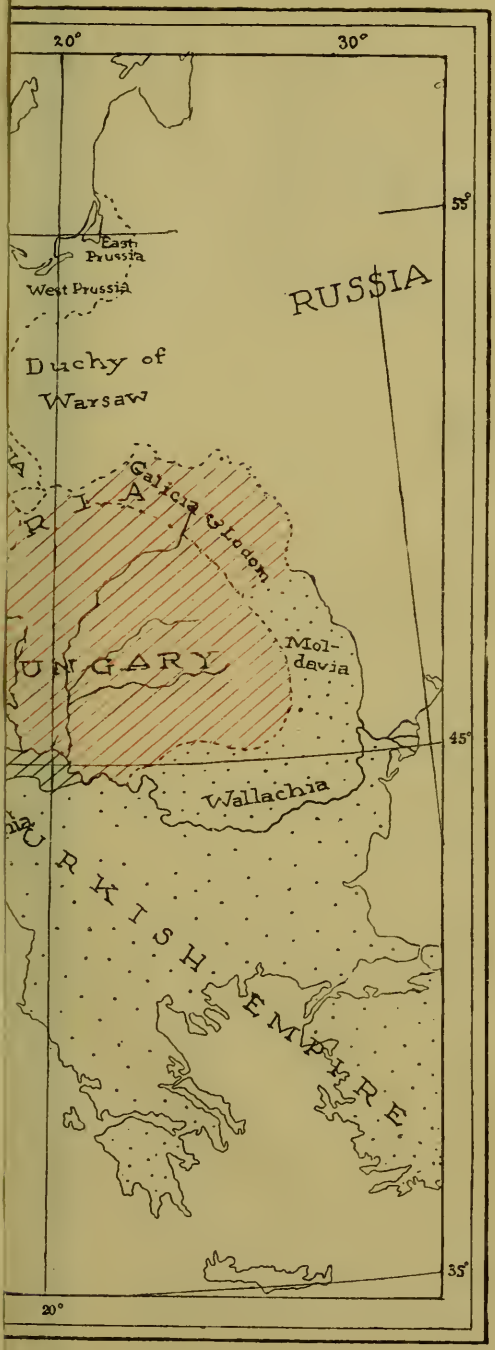
THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG AND MODERN EUROPE

THE Treaty of Vienna, in 1815, and the Holy Alliance, whereby Austria, Russia, and Prussia combined to secure (inter alia) "religion, peace, and justice," ushered in a period in which the forces of individualism and the demands of long-crushed peoples for political rights were struggling to the surface throughout Europe, despite the attempts to keep them down. Austria was the most reactionary force. The House of Habsburg, with Metternich as its adviser, believed the whole monarchical system, and more especially its own safety, to depend on maintaining the *status quo* throughout Europe; by preserving the conservative forces against anarchy, and preventing the rise of new nationalities or groupings. The great aim was to revive once more the Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages with its wide sway, its feudal organisation, and the House of Habsburg as the cornerstone. That the conception was entirely out of date did not prevent it being seriously pursued, and the policy of repression found its vent in an inquisitorial secret police system, in the suppression of the press, and in other measures which are best described as "sitting on the safety valve." In Naples and Piedmont Austrian troops helped to quell popular risings, and Austria was the only power which refused to

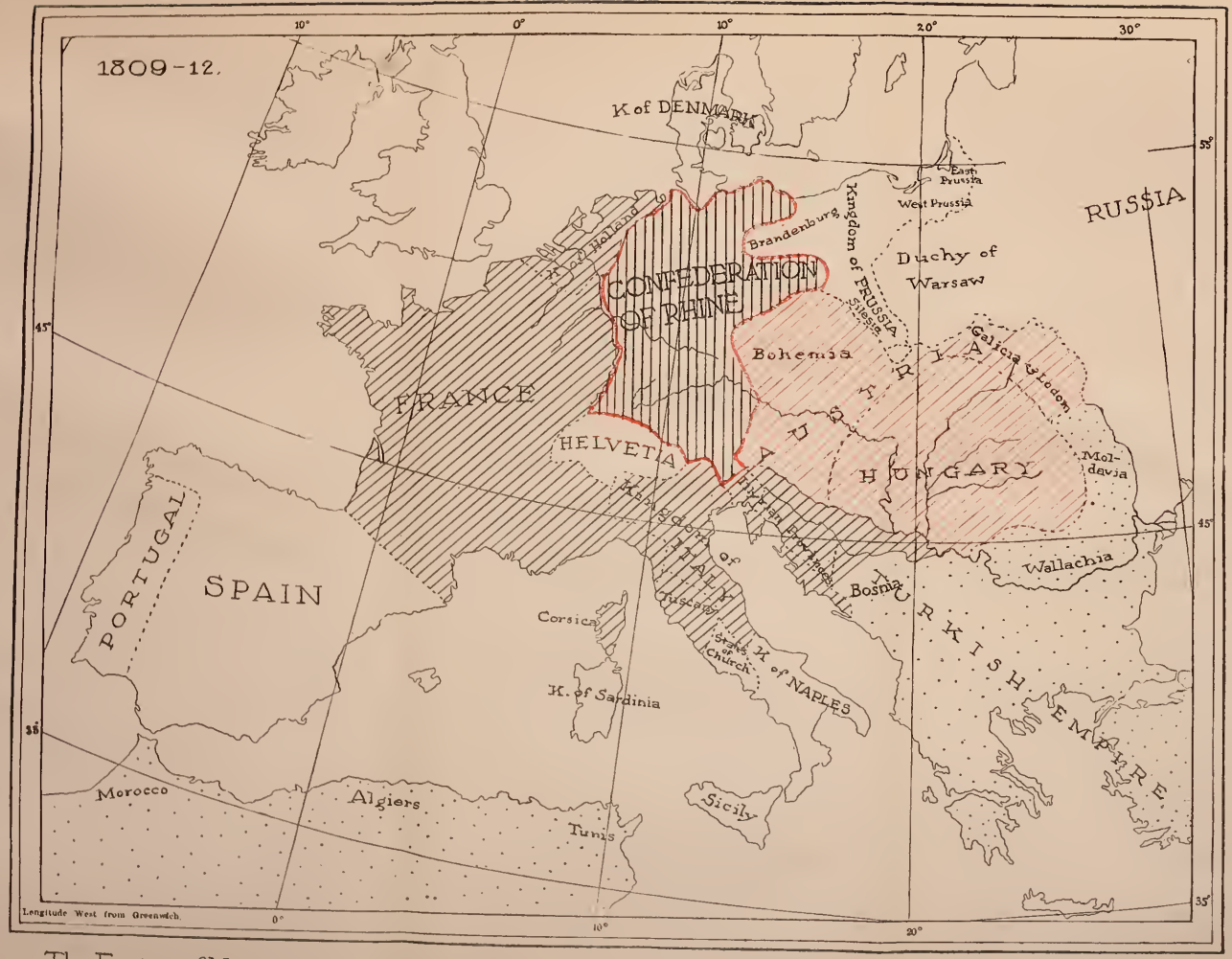
recognise the independence of Greece in 1829. At this period the Austrian "Empire" comprised the provinces hereditary in the House of Habsburg, ten in number, now known as Upper and Lower Austria; the kingdom of Bohemia, with its dependency, Moravia; Galicia and Bukowina; the Venetian provinces of north Italy which, with Mantua and Milan, were later erected into the kingdom of Lombardy and Venice; while the kingdom of Hungary comprised the principality of Transylvania and the old kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia. The House of Austro-Este also reigned in Modena, and the duchy of Parma had been given to the Archduchess Maria Louisa (wife of Napoleon), while Tuscany had an Austrian archduke. It will be seen, therefore, that the position of Francis I. was as important as that of his predecessors; while, dominating Italy, by the preponderance of Austro-German states in the Germanic confederation, he had secured the hegemony of Germany.

There was never any attempt on the part of the Habsburgs to accommodate their rule to the ideas of their various subjects; on the contrary their one historical ambition was to press all and sundry into the same mould and unify them by force. The "Germanisation," which was their policy toward Slav, Magyar, and Italian alike, was not an attempt to introduce the features which we associate with modern Germany, for the liberalism and patriotism of that country as we know it to-day were the objects of equally severe repression.

In 1815 the first mutterings of the storm led to a hasty concession to German national feeling in the formation



Hovse of Habsburg ////



The Empire of Napoleon 1809-1812 /// Confederation of Rhine ||| Hovse of Habsburg ///

of a national German Diet, which was expected to usher in a period of reform. Austria, however, sat like a heavy weight on all popular tendencies, and it was not until 1832 that the growing liberalism began to make itself heard. Among the members of the Hungarian Diet of that year were Louis Batthyanyi, Francis Deak, and Louis Kossuth, and Hungary was strong enough to secure, between 1839-43, really important concessions, while Kossuth's paper, the *Pesti Hirlap,* taught the people their rights. Bohemia, at this time, cherished the hope that by the unification of Germany, in which the Czech state would be one of the strong factors, she might secure her own integrity and independence. The Czech historian Palacky declared that the preservation of Austria was a necessity for Europe and his own people.

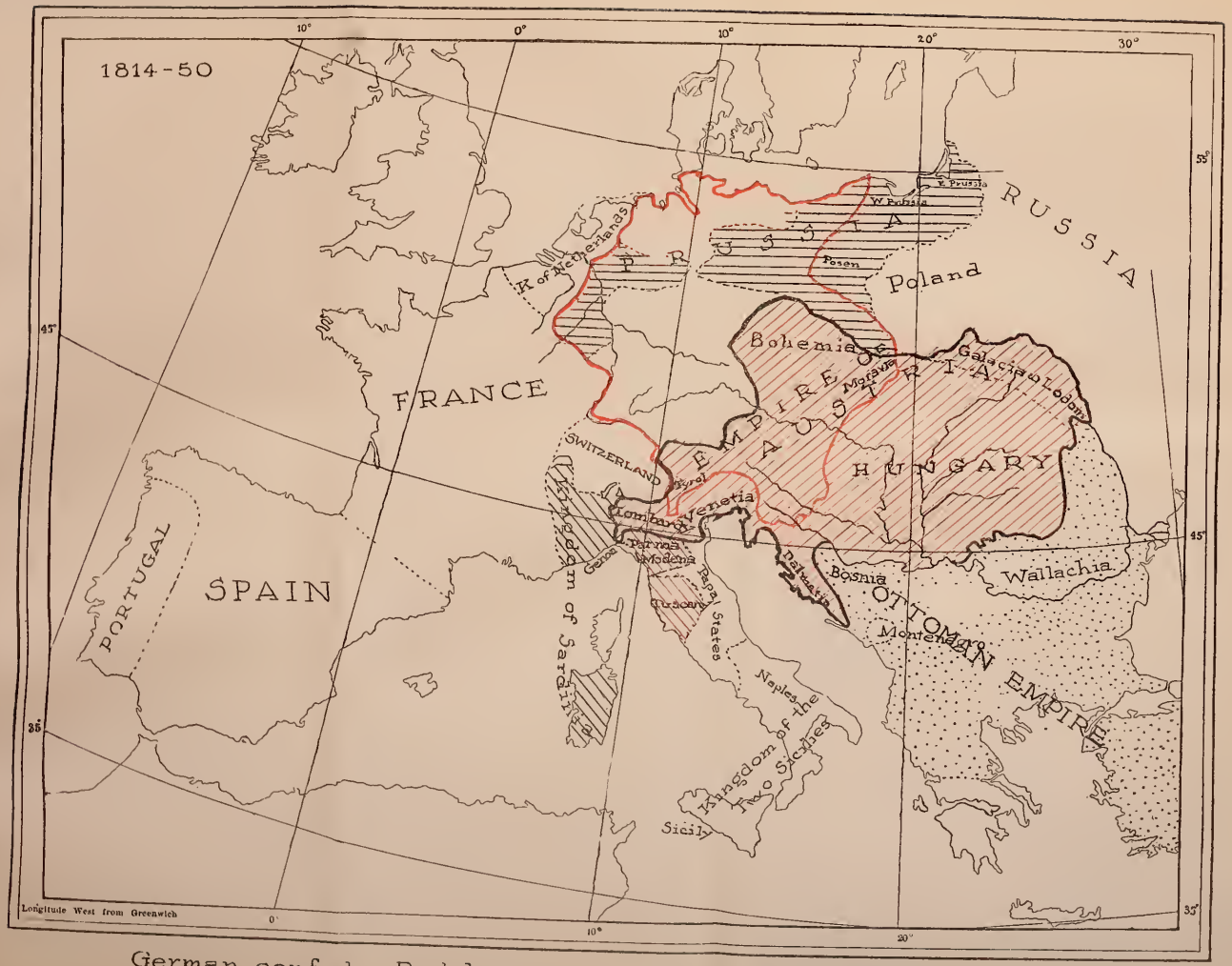
All this time the nationalist revivals among the Magyars and Czechs had continued to gather force, while Italy groaned under the Austrian tyranny. The downfall of Louis Philippe, in February, 1848, gave the signal for revolution all over central Europe. In March there was an insurrection in Milan, and Venice rose to expel the Austrian. Then a Czech insurrection broke out in Prague, and a revolutionary government was formed there. The court fled from Vienna, where the students of the university joined with the revolutionary forces. The flames spread to the German states, the King of Bavaria was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, and government after government was obliged in panic fear to accede to the demands for popular representation and reforms. Metternich, who fought to the last for autocracy, fell for-

ever and was a fugitive. The attempt to satisfy popular claims by appointing a "national" government, of which the Archduke John of Austria was elected president, proved in the long run quite futile, but meanwhile Austria, with remarkable vitality, weathered the storm. Austrian troops under Radetzky were victorious in Italy, and the principle of *divide et impera* proved successful nearer home.

Hungary did not look on unmoved at this upheaval, and began to press for independence. The Croatians, who had been inclined at first to join in the revolt, were detached from the general movement by their antipathy to the Hungarians, whose dependents they were. Vienna was still in a state of revolution and the Emperor was at Innsbrück. Encouraged by his unexpected success in Italy, Ferdinand I. decided to make war on Hungary despite his previous promises and concessions to the Magyars. Vienna at once revolted against this decision, many of the troops joined the insurgents, and Latour, the war minister, was literally torn to pieces by the infuriated mob. The Hungarians, who had refused to join in the Italian campaign and murdered Count Lamberg, who was sent as viceroy to Buda, then formed a committee of national defence under Kossuth. War was now inevitable but, although at first the Magyars were successful, they were eventually overcome by a powerful combination of Russian, Austrian, and Croatian forces in August, 1849.

In 1848 Ferdinand abdicated his throne in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, who at the early age of nineteen succeeded to an empire which at the moment of his

German confe


1814-50
RUSSIA
PRUSSIA
E. Prussia
W. Prussia
Posen
Poland
K. of Netherlands
FRANCE
Bohemia
Moravia
Galicia
Lodomeria
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
SWITZERLAND
Tyrol
Lombardy
Venetia
Parma
Modena
Genoa
Dalmatia
Bosnia
Wallachia
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Montenegro
Papal States
Tuscany
Confederation of Switzerland
Naples the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies
Sicily
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Longitude West from Greenwich
German confed
Austrian empire
Red line
Black line
Collateral Hovses
Prussia
Hovse of Habsburg

accession was in flames from one end to another, while his capital was under revolutionary influence. In a comparatively short time, however, the flames were stamped out. General Heynau conducted sanguinary reprisals in Hungary, and, peace restored, the young monarch directed his attention to the consolidation of his power.

Ten years of reaction followed. Francis Joseph has always been a humane and tolerant monarch, but behind him was the implacable figure of his mother, the Archduchess Sophia, whose one aim was the preservation of the House of Habsburg. The Catholic church lent its powerful support to the family, which was now the only reigning house of Europe faithful to her and the chief barrier against the rising tide of nationalism in Italy. In 1849 the Austrian prelates protested against all national movements as "a remnant of paganism." Difference of language was "the consequence of sin and the fall of man." In return the Austrian concordat of 1855 conferred increased power on the Church, giving her unlimited control over all ecclesiastical and educational matters. For a time political life was entirely at a standstill and absolutism reigned in Church and State. The condition of the finances remained chaotic, and the deficit was piled up until, in 1859, it amounted to 280,000,000 florins.

The Germanisation of the Slavs and Magyars was carried on through a ruthless bureaucracy, and the people who had helped to preserve the dynasty—the Croats—were no better off than those who tried to destroy it. Hungary was deprived of the last vestige of self-govern-

ment, and a general state of siege was maintained, which was only ended ultimately by an amnesty in 1857. Transylvania was placed directly under the Austrian crown and the three alien races in Hungary—the Roumanians, Servians, and Germans—were each to become autonomous. Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia (the old Hungarian seaboard) were formed into a state dependent directly on Austria, and a similar policy was followed with regard to Bohemia and Galicia. Trial by jury and right to public trial were suppressed; the election of municipal bodies was suspended; the equality of the German, Czech, and Magyar languages in schools ceased; the Austrian police interfered even in the courts; liberty of the press was still further curtailed, and papers were no longer allowed to be published in either the Czech or Magyar languages. The treatment of the Italian possessions and Galicia was equally drastic and absolute.

On the German stage Austria was occupied with a struggle to maintain her supremacy over the states. The constitutions granted by the various governments were gradually, owing to Austrian influence, revoked or annulled, and though the states increased in material prosperity, and were allowed freedom of discussion in the press, the people were still under a more or less paternal despotism and had no genuine political rights. Prussia, whence deliverance was to come, had been obliged to give way before Austria at Olmütz, in 1850, and was engaged for some years in internal struggles for constitutional rights, suffering an eclipse of the prestige she had formerly enjoyed, until, in 1861, the accession of William I. and the

growing power of Bismarck ushered in a period of victorious militarism.

During the Crimean War (1854-56) Austria was in a difficult position, for, while she owed her preservation in 1849 largely to Russia, she was by no means desirous that Russian influence should increase in the Balkans. She remained neutral, but her influence was anti-Russian and led to the famous remark of Schwarzenberg—"Austria's ingratitude will astonish the world."

Meanwhile affairs in Italy were becoming critical. In 1848 Pope Pius IX. (although a staunch friend of the House of Habsburg) had declared himself on the side of constitutional liberties, with the result that, as his subjects went further than he was prepared for, he had to fly to Naples in the disguise of a footman, and was only restored to his capital by an army of the French Republic. From that time Rome was held for him by a French garrison. In the meantime Sardinia began to assume in Italy the place of Prussia in Germany, and in the Treaty of Paris, in 1856, Cavour, the Sardinian Bismarck, raised the question of Italy in an unexpected manner. Austria and Sardinia were soon in collision; Napoleon III., invariably hostile to the former, agreed to support Victor Emmanuel, and in the war of 1859 the Austrian troops were defeated at Magenta and Solferino and expelled from Lombardy, only Venice remaining to them. Central Italy, encouraged by these events, expelled its Habsburg rulers from Tuscany and Modena, and although the Pope, with an army of French mercenaries, endeavoured to hold his own he lost all his territory be-

yond the Apennines. Sicily revolted against Naples, and the forces of Garibaldi, joined by those of Sardinia, were finally victorious before Gaeta, where the fugitive king of Naples surrendered, and, the Neapolitans having voted for annexation to Piedmont, Victor Emmanuel took the title of King of Italy (1861). It is unnecessary to follow the events in Italy closely. The Garibaldian revolt against the Pope and the part played by France in supporting Victor Emmanuel against the popular party in Italy, whose national enthusiasm threatened to draw down the intervention of Catholic Europe—this phase with all its complications ended in 1870, when, with the absorption of France in her own affairs, Victor Emmanuel was able to secure his own position and make Rome the capital of his kingdom. Henceforth the Popes were rulers only within the precincts of the Vatican. Thus finally ended the age-long struggle of the Popes to secure to themselves a temporal as well as a spiritual empire. Before this final *débâcle,* however, the Austrians had lost almost the last remnants of their Italian possessions in the campaign of 1866 when, despite the defeat of Victor Emmanuel at Custozza and at Lissa, they were obliged to abandon Venetia on account of the critical position at home and pressure brought to bear by Prussia.

The disasters in Italy in 1859 were a crushing blow to the absolutist government at Vienna, and, combined with the pressing financial needs of the Habsburgs, led to the inauguration of a constitutional system; but before this could be established a fierce conflict raged between the supporters of various forms of government, and this con-

flict has continued in modified forms ever since. There was one party strongly in favour of centralisation, this meaning government by the Crown and central administration in Vienna. The upholders of this view were chiefly the German middle class, who desired a strong central régime for liberal reforms and for protection against the clericals. They were joined by the representatives of the little nations—the Serbs, Poles, and the Saxons in Transylvania—who wanted a strong central protection from their neighbours. The federalist party, on the contrary, was composed of peoples who claimed historic rights and continued to hope for independent national governments under a federal bond. They were the Czechs, Croats, Slovenes, and (in 1860) the Italians of Venetia and Dalmatia. As the aristocratic form of society still prevailed, these peoples were represented by their nobility and clergy, and besides agitating for national rights they desired a return to the old aristocratic régime and were by no means in sympathy with the liberal views of the day. In the German provinces also these adherents of the old régime had supporters among the nobility and hierarchy, for already, it must be noted, the political cleavage was not solely on race lines. The federalists had a majority in 1860 and promulgated a constitution which established the "fundamental law," recognised historic rights, and established an Imperial Council for financial and other legislative purposes.

The Hungarians, restored to their ancient constitutional rights, promptly declared all acts done by the Government without their consent since 1848 as null and void.

They went back to their constitution of that date, and an impasse was created by their refusing to pay taxes not voted by their own Diet. Their contumacy was rewarded, for in 1861 the Emperor, largely influenced by the financial situation, which was desperate, adopted the advice of the minority and promulgated a fresh constitution. The outward form of this was calculated to satisfy the demands of the small but aspiring "nations," since they were to keep their own diets, which were to choose representatives to sit in what was called the Reichsrath, which comprised two chambers. The Emperor had the right to choose his own ministers and the upper house of the Reichsrath, appointing the latter from great landowners and thus retaining control of the government. The crux of the matter lay, however, in the clever manipulation of the electoral power. There is no manhood suffrage in Austria-Hungary; on the contrary an elaborate sliding scale of electoral qualifications. By the constitution of 1861 there were three bodies of electors—large landowners, townsmen, and rural voters—and the first class secured a strong predominance. Nevertheless, the aristocratic party was displeased because of the provision of a council, common to the whole empire, to which they were to be subject, and by refusing to send members to this Reichsrath they attempted to break up the government. The theory of federal government was officially recognised, but the Austro-German bureaucracy retained all the strings of administration.

In 1863 the demands of the German states led to an attempt to improve the cumbrous machinery of the Ger-

manic Diet by a congress of princes at Frankfort (where Prussia, however, was not represented) which was of no practical utility. The Diet had become useless and powerless, and was the laughing stock of Europe for its antiquated procedure and tortuous methods. The rivalry between Austria and Prussia came to an issue in 1864 after the Schleswig-Holstein war, the victors disputing over the spoil. Prussia eventually declared war and defeated Austria at Sadowa (1866), the result being the entire break up of the Germanic confederation. Some of the middle states which had supported Austria were occupied by Prussia, and a new North German Federation was formed, having military alliances with other of the German states.

In 1863 Polish affairs came to the front by reason of an insurrection in Russian Poland. Prussia concluded a military convention with Russia against the Poles, while Austria intrigued with both. Napoleon III., whose differences with Prussia were rapidly leading up to a critical stage, was rendered uneasy by the growing influence of the house of Hohenzollern. In 1866 a prince of this house was elected to the throne of the Danubian principalities, and in 1870 another was candidate for the throne of Spain. Another significant incident was the dispute over the Luxembourg question in 1867. Napoleon endeavoured, therefore, to cultivate relations with Austria, and with this end supported the Poles against Russia.

The position of the Habsburgs at this period was far from satisfactory. They were now shut out from Germany and Italy; on the east was the menace of Russia and

the Balkan states, while in the heart of the monarchy was the canker of the rising nationalities of Magyars and Czechs. Their army and finances were both in a ruined condition. Hungary was hostile during the 1866 war with Prussia and was only prevented by the speedy termination of the campaign from giving practical support to Prussia, while Bohemia, invaded by Prussia, was disturbed and disaffected.

It became evident that the non-compromising attitude of the Habsburg dynasty was no longer tenable, and in this emergency Beust, a Saxon statesman who had opposed Bismarck in his policy of uniting the German states under Prussian hegemony, was called in (in his own words) "to wash up the dirty linen."

The vigour Beust had shewn in Saxony, in opposing not only Bismarck but the growing liberalism and opposition to government, had gained him the reputation of a reactionary in Germany, but from an Austrian standpoint his policy was almost liberal. Looking round on the Austrian dominions he saw no chance of retaining them under the Habsburg dynasty except by securing the loyalty of the strongest of the different sections. This he believed to be Hungary, which, despite every effort at repression, was a homogeneous and distinct nationality, and so far from being Germanised was engaged in Magyarising her subjects, Germans, Croats, or Serbs. On the other hand, the Emperor was entirely dissatisfied with the working of the 1861 constitution and with the Reichsrath, which, instead of trying to bolster up his finances, only demanded accounts. He therefore decided to sus-

pend the constitution, dismiss the Reichsrath, and to return to the tradition of dualism. Beust advised his master to accede to the demands formulated by Deak, and in 1867 the political independence of Hungary was established, and the emperor was crowned at Buda-Pest as a constitutional Hungarian monarch. The *Ausgleich* was thus an accomplished fact, and the duality of the monarchy, which is a fundamental principle in Austria-Hungary, dates from this time. The actual organisation which thus came into being must be described later, but before actually taking up the subject of the monarchy as it exists to-day we must see how other parts of it fared in this period of reconstruction.

The Slavs, particularly the Croats, helped to save the dynasty in 1848, and their reward had been a harsh measure of national repression. The Czechs had hoped to secure for the lands of St. Venceslav the same privileges that were assured to those of St. Stephen, but even in the limits of this slight sketch of the historical evolution of the Habsburg empire it must have become apparent that the Slav element was the one most distrusted by the Austrians. The rise of Russia, a great Slav power, was a strong influence in this, for the idea of pan-Slavism, which found expression as early as the seventeenth century, was a menace to German and Austrian supremacy in central Europe. Moreover, Servia, renascent, hung on the Austrian frontiers and cast longing eyes toward her lost provinces. As regards the southern Slavs, Beust was anxious to limit Austrian responsibilities as far as possible, and Croatia was accordingly handed back to Hun-

gary, the understanding being that each partner in the dual monarchy was to look after its own "hordes." The Croats obtained a certain degree of autonomy in 1868, after a severe struggle, but the Servians and Roumanians of Hungary lost their national identity, though they could not lose their race feeling, and have been ever since subjected to a steady process of Magyarisation.

The Czechs protested strongly against the Ausgleich, in which they had no part. They were not consulted, nor called to the Diets, but were merely invited to send deputies to a Reichsrath in Vienna. The Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia and the Slovenes of Carniola refused to attend, but the Poles, who had no "historic rights" but wanted command over the Ruthenians, struck a bargain with Beust, who wanted their votes. They saw that their countrymen in both Russia and Prussia were far from happy, and they were contented to secure a special Galician minister, a separate education board, and the use of Polish in secondary schools, law courts, and public offices.

The discontent of the Czechs at last led to a revolt, and in 1868-69 Prague was in a state of siege. Beust endeavoured to placate them with promises of reform and liberal measures, which he was not able to carry into effect. If his law of 1867 had been honestly carried through it would have secured much for which the Czechs contended—the rights of all citizens before the law, the inviolability of the domicile, the right of association, freedom of conscience, equality of races, inviolability of nationality and language, and equality of the latter in

administration, schools, and public life. These provisions, however, were not loyally observed.

When the Liberal constitution of 1867 was promulgated it still preserved the old electoral system, for the abstract right of suffrage was not yet recognised and was regarded, even by some Liberals, as revolutionary. There were now four classes of electors—great landowners, chambers of commerce, cities, and rural districts. Each voted separately and elected its own deputies, and the vote was most unevenly distributed, the principle of "one vote one value" being entirely disallowed, as, for instance, in the chambers of commerce, where the number of voters was extremely small in relation to the representation. This unequal system ensured a German majority, even in the Slav countries, as the larger number of the great landowners, merchants, and manufacturers were either German or Germanised, and the native population was strong only in rural districts. The German majorities in the local diets ensured a German majority in the Reichsrath, and this continued even in Bohemia until, in 1879, the Czechs were strong enough to get a majority in the election. The language question, which could not be simply settled by the declaration of equal rights made in 1867, continued to afford a field of conflict in which the principal points of attack were the mixed primary schools, secondary and higher education, and administrative posts. By slow but sure degrees the tide has been turned against the German language, and thanks to the national patriotism of the Czechs, their tongue has gained ground steadily.

The other great political question concerned the rights of the Catholic church, and in this matter race division was, and is, less marked. In 1868 German liberalism abrogated the concordat and inaugurated a new period of liberty. Education was freed from the Church, marriage made civil, press laws were relaxed. At the same time the Prussian military organisation was introduced.

From 1866 to 1870 there had been passages of arms between Austria and Prussia regarding the south German states, followed by close friendship of the former with France, and meetings between the two emperors (Francis and Napoleon) at Salzsburg and Paris, in 1867 and 1869. How far Beust's policy was dictated by a desire for revenge is doubtful, but there can be no question that the hope of replacing Prussia by Austria in the German hegemony largely dictated his movements, and a plan was negotiated by which Austria, France, and Italy were to combine. In 1870 a formal alliance with France was actually discussed, but the project fell through, and Bismarck, being perfectly aware of the alliance which was brewing, determined on war before Austria should be in a position to give substantial aid to France. The rapidity of the war and the complete success of Prussia had the desired effect of paralysing Austria. Beust was obliged to retire in 1871, and Count Andrassy became prime minister. Meanwhile the war with France had drawn all the German states together, and in the coronation of a Hohenzollern king as German Emperor at Versailles vanished the last hope of the Habsburgs of regaining their position in Germany. Germany, at the same time, disclaimed all inten-

tion of dismembering Austria, and relations became closer and closer until, in 1872, Francis Joseph visited Berlin and St. Petersburg, and the three empires were for six years united in bonds of peace and friendship.

The Franco-German war roused very mixed feelings among the varied subjects of Austria. The Germans exulted in German victories over the quondam friend of their emperor, and many Hungarians rejoiced because they believed that Germany Victrix would absorb the German provinces of Austria and leave the Magyars entirely free to realise their ambitions, including the domination of those Slav countries which Hungary in her palmiest days had conquered.

Conciliation being necessary Hohenwart was called in, as he was believed to be popular because he had favoured a federalist policy. He at once attempted to mollify the Czechs, and so offended the Germans of Bohemia, and even those outside the Empire, and the expression was heard, "Are the victors of Sedan to become the helots of the Czechs?" Hohenwart, however, persevered, and the Emperor at length consented to acknowledge the "rights of the kingdom of Bohemia" and to be crowned at Prague, which had not seen this ceremony since the time of Leopold II. in 1791. The opposition to these measures, which was made by both German and Magyar sections of the population, proved too strong, and the Emperor evaded his engagements and replaced Hohenwart, at the same time that Beust was succeeded by Andrassy. The Slavs were now persecuted with fresh vigour. The press was put down, the Imperial Manifesto promising rights

was destroyed by the police, Bohemian and other local assemblies were dissolved, and a new Reichsrath was summoned at which no federalists appeared.

Amid these trials the Czech national feeling rose triumphant and could not, eventually, be denied. Ten years after the Franco-German war, Bohemia, with the aid of Count Taaffe, who wished to conciliate her, was once more given equality of language in the schools, administration, and courts. A national university and a national theatre were founded at Prague, the latter by national subscription and by the aid of peasants, who, too poor to give money, carted the material and contributed their labour. We must, however, describe the Czech revival at more length in a subsequent chapter.

With regard to the Eastern question, Austria's attitude throughout the whole of the nineteenth century was one of uncertainty. She was opposed to the progress of Russia, but her position as a Christian state made it difficult for her to stand aside when her fellow Christians were trying to throw off the yoke of Turkey. Her attitude toward the Balkan states, therefore, was not calculated to win their confidence.

The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was sanctioned by the Treaty of Berlin (1878) was particularly crushing to the patriotic hopes of Servia and Montenegro, since it successfully divided them, and in Novibazar (the district between the two countries) it placed Austria garrisons within Turkish territory at a most important strategic point. Montenegro was shut off from the coveted seaport Cattaro, which had been in

The Dual Monarchy
1906
10°
55°
45°
45°
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
35°
35°
Longitude West from Greenwich.
0°

Austria

Austria ▭ Kingdom of Hungary ▭ Dual Monarchy, black line.
German Empire, red line.

the hand of Austria since 1814. This occupation of territory on their southern border was not favourably viewed by Hungary, who feared Austrianising influences on the Serbo-Croats and was, moreover, opposed to any coercion of Turkey, with whom, since the days of Mohacs, she had frequently made alliances and had *rapprochements*. The kinship between Magyar and Turk is, in fact, more than once apparent in friendly relations between the two peoples, who at other times were in deadly conflict. As a return for abstention in this matter of the Turkish provinces, Hungary obtained a much freer hand in her policy of Magyarisation and also concessions as to her language and national rights. The advantage gained by Austria in the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina was more doubtful. Austria-Hungary was plunged into an expensive war with the Mohammedan inhabitants, and it is certain that Bismarck's chief reason for the concession was to turn the energies of Austria eastward and to keep her and Russia embroiled in the Balkan states.

In 1879 Bismarck and Andrassy (the latter always amenable to influence from Berlin) concluded an alliance for action in case of an attack on Austria-Hungary by Russia, or on Germany by France and Russia. This was strengthened in 1883 by the inclusion of Italy, who had become nervous owing to French activity in the Mediterranean. This "Triple Alliance" has never been dissolved, although it has gone through various vicissitudes and modifications. After 1880 better relations were established between Austria and Russia, although in 1885 the Bulgarian question brought the two powers into active

opposition. In 1886-7 Russian troops were actually massed on the frontier, but the danger was averted by the renewal of the Triple Alliance and by German intervention.

The Habsburg dynasty is no longer engaged in foreign intrigues, except in the Balkan States and in European Turkey, where they struggle continually to maintain their influence against that of Russia. Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands are definitely lost to them, but they remain at the head of a powerful state, and their ancient House, the oldest in Europe, may yet continue to play a prominent part in world affairs. The present crisis in its history seems a grave one, but this brief *résumé* will show that they have passed through even darker periods. Whether the proverbial luck which has attended the Habsburgs in political life will continue to come to their rescue it is impossible to say, but it seems likely that the descendants of Francis Joseph must develop more statesmanship than most of his ancestors possessed, if they are to retain their position under modern conditions.

CHAPTER VI

THE AUSTRIANS

An Austrian lady once told the writer (with some indignation at the ignorance displayed) that an Englishman had asked her, "What was her native tongue?" Probably quite a number of otherwise well-informed people would find it difficult to explain the existence, in Austria, of a German-speaking people who are yet distinct, not only historically but even to a certain extent racially, from the other Teutonic states of Europe.

The fusion of the petty German states into a great German empire, and the influence of the dominating factor of Prussian militarism, have obliterated, so far as appearances are concerned, the boundaries of the various kingdoms and principalities. Many of these—for instance, Brandenburg, the cradle of the Hohenzollerns—were originally Slav in population, but the civilisation which gradually overspread them, and the spirit guiding their destinies, were Teutonic, and as the modern German empire they are welded together on a firm national basis, despite their long history of separate political existence. It is obvious that Austria, which after 1866 was entirely shut out from this family party, must have been differentiated from the rest of the Teutonic empire by some special circumstance. This circumstance, as has been shewn in the historical sketch, was the connection with the

House of Habsburg, which was never content to be a merely Teutonic power and drew its inspiration from Spain and Italy rather than German sources. Austria, as we have seen, began its career as the Ost-mark of the Frankish empire. It was an outpost against the pagan and savage hordes outside the pale of Teutonic and Catholic Europe. As a duchy it was given to a Teutonic family, the Babenbergs, who were succeeded by the Habsburgs, and by the energy and capacity of the latter family it became the centre of a collection of hereditary possessions as large as many kingdoms. These remain to-day under the Habsburg dynasty, and, to use an incorrect terminology, form the "Empire" of Austria. The family lands consist of no fewer than seventeen parts or provinces, and historically these provinces are distinct, and have a certain individuality.[1] The Austrian emperor, therefore, bears the title of each province separately. He is Duke of Styria, Count of the Tyrol, etc., his hereditary titles numbering seventeen.

The racial basis of the Habsburg realm was Slav, the peasantry of the duchies being originally of that race, while in Bohemia, Moravia, and Galicia we have old Slav kingdoms which still retain their nationality. Latin

[1]
Kingdoms
Bohemia, Galicia and Dalmatia
Margraviates
Moravia and Istria
Arch-Duchies
Upper Austria
Lower Austria
Duchies
Salzburg
Styria
Carinthia
Carniola
Silesia
Bukowina
"Land" Simply
Vorarlberg
Counties, raised to Principalities
Görz-Gradiska and Tyrol
Special Crown Land
Trieste and District

SLOVENES, FROM CARNIOLA

CARINTHIAN PEASANT GIRLS IN HOLIDAY DRESS

influence in that portion of the Habsburg domains which is nearest to Italy, and in the coast lands, has somewhat obscured the fact that they were the scenes of an early Slav civilisation, but it is noticeable that the long domination of a (nominally) German ruler has been quite ineffectual in colouring the lives of the people or in eliminating their very un-German proclivities. The southern characteristics of these Austrian subjects are clearly marked. Nevertheless, the fact that the court, the centre of social and political life, was more or less German was bound to influence the people of the duchies and of Bohemia. The language of administration, as well as of society, was and is German; not the precise Hanoverian or the harsh Prussian, but the soft yet guttural German of the south, the Bavarian patois with little variation, and spoken by prince and peasant alike. Naturally the written language, and that spoken in pulpit or theatre, is more classical, but the Vienna jargon, as it is called, is the tongue of common usage, and it is strange to hear this dialect even on the lips of a proud and cultured aristocracy.

Naturally the ascendency of a German family brought to their court and their lands numbers of their countrymen, many of whom formed settlements and retained their nationality. In modern times industrial development has also attracted Germans who remain German. The growth of the "Austrian" tradition is, in reality, mainly to be traced in the development of the aristocracy, and they in their turn are grouped round the central factor in all Austrian history—the House of Habsburg. It must not be imagined that this aristocracy was recruited entirely from

Germany. As the House increased in power, and at length achieved the hereditary position of head of the Teutonic states, it required for the Imperial army a large number of mercenary troops. These came from every country of Europe and every grade of society, and many of the officers were rewarded with grants of land and founded noble families. After the time of Maximilian the Habsburgs ceased to regard themselves as German monarchs. Their courts were filled with Spanish, Netherlandish, and Italian nobles, and not one German prince appeared in the train of Charles V. when he was crowned at Rome. Vienna was not the seat of the Imperial court till after the Thirty Years' War (seventeenth century), but it then took a foremost place in Europe. To the brilliant court thronged all the distinguished men of the Middle Ages, who, with their followers, often lived for a considerable time in the palaces of old Vienna. Besides this the Emperor was recognised as the champion of the Roman Catholic Church against the Reformed religion, German liberalism, and the first mutterings of democracy, so that his court became a refuge to those who were staunch to the old traditions. At the opening of the Thirty Years' War a great influx of French took place, and after the flight of James II., English and Irish refugees flocked to Austria, while a motley crowd of Spaniards, Luxembourgers, Belgians, and Dutch flocked to the court of the Emperor.[2] Italian immigration

[2] Some writers claim that the most eminent names in Austrian history are foreign. Taafe, Plunket, De Lacy, D'Argenteau, de Bucquoi, de Hoyos, Prince Eugene of Savoy, Montecuculi, and many other foreign names have been distinguished. Kaunitz was of Slavic origin, Beust was a Saxon, and Metternich a Rhinelander.

and Italian influence have been, perhaps, the decisive factors in differentiating Austria from other German-speaking countries. This influence and immigration have been continuous from quite early periods, for the ambition of the Habsburgs to be something more than German monarchs drew their gaze beyond the Alps from the outset of their history. The universities of Pisa and Padua, rather than those of Germany, were the sources of inspiration, and, although German was eventually recognised as the *Kultur Sprache* of the Austrians, this is the result of historical rather than intellectual affinity. The great intellectual and political movements of mediæval and modern Germany were from the first the objects of distrust to the Habsburgs, and Austria was, by the rigid repression of her rulers, preserved from this great revolutionay wave. If it is gradually encroaching now, if German liberalism is an increasingly powerful factor and socialism a growing menace, it is because in modern Europe it is no longer possible to secure isolation. The supreme influence of the Jesuits in Austrian politics and social life, which lasted for two centuries, was a predominant factor in the evolution, not only of that country, but of all those lands connected with it. The Jesuit tradition was totally opposed to the development of freedom of thought or action. Even after its overthrow in 1772 the Jesuit policy was partially revived by Metternich, who, like the Habsburg rulers until the time of Joseph II., regarded the domination of the Church in matters spiritual and intellectual as a bulwark of the dynasty.

The tradition of conservatism is still preserved in that

strange and interesting society known as the Austrian aristocracy—the only genuine survival of the caste system in Europe. Here is your true Austrian, no German at all, for, though his name and language may be German, he probably has the blood of half a dozen nationalities in his veins, and the accumulated weight of centuries of the tradition of authority, undisturbed by reformations or revolutions, at his back. Undoubtedly the association with the Spanish grandees, brought very close by marriage during the period of political connection, has much to do with the pride of the Austrian aristocracy, but, be that as it may, the fact remains that this society is to-day the only one in which gold is not a passport, against whose doors the parvenu heiress has knocked in vain.

In writing of so exclusive a society it is difficult to avoid pitfalls, since one's observation must usually be from outside. Few writers, either native or foreign, are really qualified by acquaintance to describe the *vie intime* of these circles, and for that reason considerable discretion is necessary. On one point, however, all are agreed. The Austrian aristocracy is distinguished from the upper circles of more democratic countries by the simplicity of its life and manners. There is neither ostentation nor luxuriousness in the habits of these proud people. They do not entertain sumptuously, and the big social functions of aristocratic Vienna are few and far between. Private entertaining, confined to the circle of intimate friends and relations, is also rare and simple compared with that in England or America, and informal "dropping in" is not customary. Part of every year is passed on the country

A BOSNIAN COUNTRY CART AND OXEN

estates, where existence is quiet and primitive, judged by the standards of country-house life in English-speaking communities. There is not the same amount of movement and change, for Austrians travel very little. Sport is popular, and the young Austrian noble spends months every year in following it under strenuous and sometimes dangerous conditions. He is apt to sneer at the idea of sport which is not complete without a *battue* and hot luncheon as part of the day's entertainment. It is fortunate that this open-air life retains its attractions for the Austrian nobility, for it must be confessed that without it their life would be an enervating one, and even with it must frequently be aimless.

English noblemen, however high their rank and long their pedigree, have frequently been associated with industrial affairs, often as owners of mines and as manufacturers. Their ranks have, moreover, been constantly recruited by new creations from the industrial and commercial world, and we are accustomed now to a bridging of the social gulf between the landowner and the man of commerce which is little known in Austria. There the aristocracy are essentially landowners, and though a few of the highest families have actually descended into the arena of trade,[3] the prejudice against it still remains. As landlords they have, in modern times, become anxious to do their duty. They are not, as a rule, absentees and they are good-natured, but the immense size of many of

[3] The names of Harrach (which actually appears over Bohemian glassware shops in Prague and Vienna), Prince Schwartzenberg (who has ceramic factories), and Count Nostitz (who owns valuable iron works), are among those that at once occur to one.

the estates makes it impossible for them to give personal attention to matters. The Schwarzenbergs, for instance, own immense areas in Bohemia, and their estates are valued at fifteen millions sterling. It is not to be wondered at that the agent is the real arbiter of destiny, and that the factors and stewards rob their masters as well as the poor peasantry.

Apart from his duty as landlord, and to a limited extent the field of high politics, the only career open to the Austrian noble is that of the army. If he wishes to follow this profession (after his period of enforced service is over) he must work hard and cannot have much time for loafing. Failing this, however, he will probably spend far too much of his time in the cafés which abound in Vienna and which waste the time of thousands of the people every day. His intellectual resources are limited, as is natural after centuries of ultramontanism and the inevitable result of excluding from his society all but those of the same point of view as himself. This has led to the growth of mental apathy and indifference. No stranger, however distinguished, is welcomed inside the exclusive circle, and even foreigners of the diplomatic service see little more than the ceremonial side of its life. The "society of cousins," as it is called, declares that it is "so tiresome" to have to entertain strangers, and thus in the restricted circle, with the same jokes, the same catchwords, the same gossip, and the same narrow outlook, life flows on in well-worn channels, only varied by erotic outbreaks, inevitable in so old and artificial a society. Politics, literature, art, and science are little mentioned in conversa-

TYROLEAN VILLAGE STREET

TYROLEAN FARM

tion, and, though fond of music, few attain proficiency as executants. Dancing is the great amusement, and is enjoyed with passionate zeal. Marriage outside the prescribed circle is always a *mésalliance,* but it is notorious that it is not infrequent even in the highest circles. In such cases it is, however, a marriage of inclination or affection. The archduke who espouses a pretty actress or dancer does so for her *beaux yeux,* and his *faux pas* is less objectionable in the eyes of society than if he had married into the family of some parvenu for money.

Austrian noble ladies are said to be in many respects the superiors of their husbands in character—a very natural state of affairs in a society where there is so little scope for virility. As wives and mothers they are devoted, although handicapped at every turn by the restrictions of society. Young girls are often said to be fast, a reputation they probably owe to the natural vivacity of the Austrian compared to the German. They are certainly unaffected, merry, and delightful, though strictly brought up. The *toilettes* are notable for simplicity and elegance, in striking contrast to the untidy, overdressed fussiness which has characterised English and American women for some time past. Only the fullest evening costumes are permitted elaboration, and the style of these is Parisian, while the day gowns are altered from Paris models and have a distinctive apearance, tailoring and fit being peculiarly good. The reputation of Austrian women for beauty is probably more due to their good taste in dress, which is noticeable in all classes, than to regular features or colouring. Indeed the amount of coffee consumed and the

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lack of exercise incline them early to *embonpoint.* The Viennese pride themselves on their small feet, and are, as a rule, admirably and at the same time prettily shod, another contrast to their English and American sisters.

At the far-back feudal period when Austrian society had its origin there were in Europe only two classes to be considered, the noble and non-noble. The rise of the German city, with its wealthy and cultured burgher class, was one of the predominant features of the Middle Ages, and complicated the social system, creating a middle class. In most European countries this class has been partially absorbed into the aristocracy, but in Austria it is still distinct. The court circle or aristocracy is made up of; (first) the reigning family, with archdukes and archduchesses (for every member of the family bears the title); (second) the Liechtensteins—still a reigning family in their tiny territory, which is now incorporated in the Austrian Empire; (third) Austrian princes created after 1806, Mediatised counts, and counts of the Holy Roman Empire (the latter not necessarily territorial lords); and (lastly) one or two barons, this title being reserved for high finance and especially associated with Jewish bankers, of whom only a select few, like the Rothschilds, are admitted to "Society."

The second rank—not "Society" with a big S—is the upper middle class, in which are included the higher members of the civil service, professions, heads of great commercial undertakings, savants, and distinguished followers of art in all its branches. The lower middle class comprises the minor civil servants, tradespeople, and

craftsmen of various kinds, and there is an industrial and agricultural proletariat. The upper middle class is also divided into a Jewish and a Christian section, the former including a large proportion of professional men, particularly doctors, lawyers, and journalists. Unlike the Christian section, which is much split into cliques, this Jewish community is very solid and mutually helpful. As mentioned elsewhere anti-Jewish feeling is intensely strong.

The Austrian of all ranks, and especially the Viennese, is bright and pleasure-loving. The influence of the stiff and gloomy Spanish grandees was modified after the time of Maria Theresa by the French manners imported by Francis of Lorraine, and despite the elaborate etiquette still obtaining there is gaiety in court circles, while the people outside society are notoriously fond of amusement. Parks provide cheap entertainment in the form of concerts, and the environs have spots like the Kahlenberg or Wienerwald, where whole families adjourn for the day to pass the time in dancing, listening to the music, and drinking beer. Socially Vienna is not so brilliant as it was fifty years ago, before the revival of the nationalist movements in Hungary and Bohemia led to the withdrawal of the Magyar and Czech nobles and induced them to make social centres of Budapest and Prague. Austrian families themselves, moreover, unable to afford the expenses of Vienna, live more and more (even all the year round) on their estates.

Nevertheless, Austrians are proud of their capital, one of the finest cities in Europe despite two disadvantages —the absence of a fine river and the flatness of the immediate surrounding country. Unlike any other modern

city, Vienna's royal residence and aristocratic quarter is at its centre. After 1857 the fortifications of Vienna were demolished and a broad street made upon them, which, in spite of some monstrosities, is still architecturally one of the finest in Europe. This street runs round the old inner city and is known as the Ringstrasse. Within this are still to be found bits of old Vienna, but on the whole the general impression is that of a modern city, Italian rather than German in character, and possessing many fine, albeit rather ornate, buildings. Much of the most noticeable building in Vienna is in the style of the Italian renaissance, but the most characteristic are of the later *baroque* period. Modern architects have evolved a number of variations on the *baroque,* which are quaint and *voyante* rather than elegant or stately. But the general effect is bright, and helps to emphasise the fact that Vienna is not a German town.

In the cafés a cosmopolitan crowd assembles—often Hungarian, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Italians—and here is the centre not only of social but of commercial life. To illustrate the mixture of races in the Austrian capital it has been said that a German may have a Galician (Polish) wife, a Bohemian (Czech) cook, a Dalmatian (Italian) nurse, a Slav barber, a Magyar coachman, a French tutor, and an English governess!

The artistic side of Viennese life is somewhat disappointing. Once the capital of the Habsburgs was the home of the first musicians of the day. Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert—the Immortals—have moved in its salons and received encouragement—what an irony!—

WINNOWING WHEAT, BOSNIA

from the smiles of its aristocracy.[4] To-day the followers of Strauss seem to monopolise the composing powers, but in execution there is still a high standard, both in orchestral music and in singing. The Conservatoire of Music is famous, and it is apparently not the encouragement but the genius which is at present in abeyance. The school of painting is a modern one, and has no special European reputation, being far below that of Munich. At the present time the so-called "Secession" school is all-pervading, and fills Vienna with hideosities not only on canvas but in iron, wood, and stone. The cult of the bizarre is the dominating note of this "school," and the most aspiring of the well-to-do Viennese middle class decorate their entire houses, and even their persons, in "Secession" style, with results not always happy. It is impossible not to see something decadent in this phase of art, as in the lack of originality in the musical world. It is characteristic of some of the Secession work that it disdains the finished workmanship of classic models, as well as their graceful and chaste outlines, but the most decadent features are a certain restlessness and angularity, a straining after effect, a conventional barbaricism, and a lack of colour-sense as well as of true originality. The Secession wave has passed over German as well as Austrian art, but it is more noticeably unpleasant in Vienna because that city has so long

[4] "Beethoven, in his lifetime, was little appreciated in Vienna, and the poverty to which he was left in the Imperial capital was relieved by the London Philharmonic Society." "The Court of Austria." Vehse. The same author says that Mozart was so disgusted by the preference of the Viennese for the lighter of his operas and their rejection (at first) of Don Juan, that he exclaimed: "The Bohemians will understand me!"

been noted for "artistic" productions, and because its manufactures go forth with the stamp "Viennese" to beautify (or uglify) so many thousand homes. If Vienna could have a period like that of Sheraton and Adams in England much of the ugliness of modern German life might be modified!

Theatres, like music, are subsidised. The Imperial opera house is fine, and is well patronised, but the middle class is the great supporter of the drama. There is no native school of drama; translations of foreign plays are as popular in Vienna as they are in London, and come chiefly from the same source—the French. The most characteristic feature of the Viennese stage is the opera-bouffe, and many queens of the stage have won ephemeral distinction, and some have made good marriages.

A curious feature of life is the cessation of all activity in the streets at about 10.30 P. M. The theatre and opera are over early, and after a light refreshment the people go home. The cafés remain open, but the hours kept are very early compared with Paris or Berlin. Perhaps this custom is a relic of earlier days, when everyone was subject to the closest police supervision. Even now the police insist that every house or hotel in the city should employ a special night porter, who (by custom) must be fee'd every time he opens the door. These men are in the employ of the police, and act as information agents.

We have said already that the intellectual life of the aristocracy is marked by a narrow range of sympathy and mental stagnation. In the middle class the brightest intellects and highest culture are to be found in the Jewish

circles, from which the professions and the press are very largely recruited. Vienna has an ancient university, founded in 1365, and some of its faculties have been famous, particularly that of medicine, but on the whole the modern Austrians owe less to their universities than the Germans. Under the influence of ultramontanism for so many centuries the University of Vienna was not carried forward in the great intellectual awakening which followed the Reformation. It was only after the abrogation of the concordat, in 1868, that education was finally made the business of the State and released from religious control, and the subsequent organisation, though closely following the German system, has not as yet the progressive features characteristic of its model. There are three divisions of schools, elementary, middle, and high, the last including universities, and in addition there are numerous and varied scientific, professional, or technical schools. Attendance at elementary schools is compulsory, and the average attendance is good, reaching to nearly 100 per cent. in Upper Austria and Salzsburg, while in Galicia and Bukowina it is very low indeed. There do not appear to be in Vienna (where a large industrial population exists) any of those modern arrangements for the protection of the school child which are carried to such a pitch of perfection in Berlin. In this respect the Viennese are behind England in some of its better-equipped centres. The children of poor districts come to school badly clothed and fed, and beyond a charitable organisation for providing penny dinners in the winter there seems to be no attempt to remedy this. The appearance of these children indicates the

existence of great poverty in some of the industrial quarters, and another fact indicative of unfavourable conditions of life among the poor is the very high rate of infant mortality, which is higher, for the whole of Austria, than that of any other country except Russia, though not so high as that in selected areas of Great Britain. It may be mentioned that in Austria, as in Germany, the school age begins at six, and that the children are therefore spared the withering influences of infant schools. Unfortunately the excellent system of medical inspection of school children has not been copied from Germany as yet, and in the matter of school buildings and appliances Vienna is behind Budapest.

The middle schools are of two classes: the *Gymnasia,* or classical schools, which prepare for the universities, and the *Realschulen,* or modern schools, preparing chiefly for the technical schools. A third class, the *Realgymnasia,* consists of classical schools with a modern side, preparing chiefly for the upper classes of the other two. The great majority of these are maintained by the State, but there are a few under the province or municipality and seventeen kept by bishops and ecclesiastical orders. It is, perhaps, not thoroughly understood in England that this system of State schools entirely does away with the private or semi-private institutions we call public schools. Everyone, from highest to lowest, goes through the State schools, although there is not necessarily that mingling of the social classes which at first sight seems inevitable. There are, of course, private schools, but these must comply with government regulations, and their pupils have

TYPICAL FARMHOUSE, TYROL

FEAST OF THE VIRGIN, TYROL

to submit to State examinations. In the case of professional or civil service examinations the privately educated boy is purposely placed at a disadvantage, and the expense is vastly increased. The universities, of which there are eight in Austria, with an average attendance of about seventeen thousand, are not luxuries or extras in the educational scheme, like the English or American universities, but are essential parts of a liberal education; and, moreover, there are scholarships and bursaries to enable the poor scholar to enjoy all the educational advantages of the country. The professional or technical training schools are partly private, partly public, and in the latter case they are not maintained, but subsidised, by the State. In Bohemia this branch of education has been most successfully developed, as will be described elsewhere. For the rest, it is difficult to generalise about this, or indeed about any other department of education in Austria, because the conditions vary so enormously in the different provinces.

It has been said, with great truth, that within the Habsburg domains one can study, almost side by side, every stage of civilisation, from the almost primitive to the highest degree of refinement and culture. For this reason statistics and information of a general character are apt to be misleading. Thus, while we read that in 1900 out of twenty-six millions nine and a half could neither read nor write, and another 800,000 could not write, we find at the same time that in Upper Austria the school attendance is nearly 100 per cent. It is obvious that the greatest unevenness must exist in the life-conditions of

the subjects of the Habsburgs, and this is confirmed by the most casual observation. It is a blot on Austrian administration that a large proportion of the people it governs remains at an extremely low grade of civilisation, but at the same time it must be remembered that Galicia, where poverty and ignorance are, perhaps, greatest, has very complete autonomy and its own educational authorities and language. So much sympathy has been evoked by the subjection of the Slav peoples to foreign and autocratic rulers that too little study has been devoted to another side of the question. How far Slav peoples are capable of progress and self-development it is impossible to say. The Czechs cannot be taken as an instance, for, despite the national character of their renaissance, it has owed a good deal to the cultural influence of Germany throughout long centuries. But the lack of political instinct, of the power of organisation and of stability, is an omission from the "make up" of the Slav which cannot fail to strike any student of history. The history of Poland is perhaps the most striking illustration, and in blaming the Austrian administration for the backward condition of its Polish provinces we may perhaps remember that the gods help those that help themselves. The short-sighted and selfish attitude of the Polish nobility which was the ruin of their country in the days of Poland's prosperity continues to be the curse of Galicia, and the peasantry, mostly Ruthenians, are perhaps not to blame if they have sunk, with the hopeless fatalism of the Russian Slav, into the pit of ignorance and poverty.

Socialism began in Austria early in the seventies, and

was at first agrarian in character. It was largely provoked by the aggressions of a class of capitalists who were gradually becoming large landowners. The economic crisis of this period gave opportunities to these capitalists, almost invariably Jewish, of buying out small owners, and the situation thus created was viewed with grave distrust by the peasantry. The movement soon spread to the industrial population, and after 1879 anarchical doctrines began to be preached, while in the early eighties there were serious riots, strikes, and assassinations, ending in martial law and special measures of repression. The Jews, alarmed by the feeling displayed, used their influence with the press (which they controlled) to begin a campaign against Socialism in every form, demanding its suppression and, if possible, extermination. The consequence was to identify the Socialist movement with a violent wave of anti-Semitism, and no effort of the Government has been able to resist this popular current. In 1882 a fresh phase was introduced by the action of the Clericals and a few conservatives, who, feeling that their influence was waning, began what is called the Christian Socialist movement, in which the economic revolt against capital is combined with a religious attack on the Jews. Austria, they contended, was in the hands of a close ring of political financiers, who used the constitution (under which the working classes were unrepresented) to exploit labour, while alienating the people from Christianity in " godless schools." A fresh political party, that of democratic clericalism, was founded, and a practical result of the influence brought to bear was the

amelioration of conditions of life and labour, such as factory and mine inspection, the regulation of hours of labour, and other kindred measures. In 1887-8 compulsory insurance against sickness and accidents on the German pattern was introduced. Other industrial legislation was more political than social in its intention, as, for instance, the laws for the restoration of trade guilds. Since that time the Socialist party has grown steadily, and the first plank in its platform is universal suffrage, which was first asked for so long ago as 1869.

The line taken by the Jews, as the only way of stemming a rising tide which threatens their interests, was to introduce as a destructive agency the International Socialist propaganda. This is in fact a form of socialism to which the Jew can most easily subscribe, but to the Austrian and Bohemian it is a stumbling-block, because of the distinctively national and even provincial character of their aims. The racial divisions and national jealousies among the subjects of the Habsburgs have in fact prevented the organisation of a really strong Socialist party, and it will be difficult to overcome these disabilities.

Meanwhile the Government has so far responded to the *Zeitgeist* as to begin a career of State Socialism. It began with the taking over of the railway system, but has extended its operations in various directions, with a view to the protection of the smaller industries, which were dying a natural death. The department for the "Promotion of Trade" costs some thirty thousand pounds annually, and its most useful function is in educating mechanics. Much of the work attempted by the Govern-

A BOSNIAN PLAYGROUND

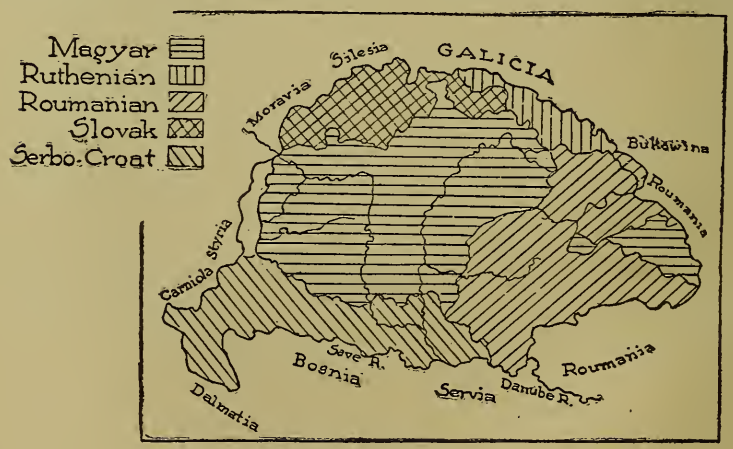
ment for protection of the working classes has, however, been nugatory. The bases of calculations for old-age pensions and insurance have proved faulty, and the factory acts and other laws as to sweating or other abuses are successfully evaded for lack of a sufficient authority to enforce them under the penal code.

Municipal Socialism has not advanced in Austria to the extent with which we are familiar nearer home. The present mayor of Vienna, Dr. Lueger, is a notorious Christian Socialist, whose energies are divided between the anti-Semitic campaign and the protection of the small trader (*kleiner Mann*) against Jewish monopoly. An amusing story illustrates at once the extent to which this movement is carried, till it becomes almost ridiculous, and also the humour of the Viennese tradesman. A chemist had been asked several times by a customer for doses of poison, and at last inquired what they were for. On being told "for the destruction of rats and other vermin," he ejaculated: "What! for vermin! Why, I shall be prosecuted for taking away the business of the *kleiner Mann,* who deals only in vermin poisoning!"

CHAPTER VII

HUNGARY AND THE HUNGARIANS

THE Magyars, as said already, occupy a unique position in the dual monarchy, not only politically but racially, because they are an entire and homogeneous nation. The undeniable fact that they are by no means a pure race, but have assimilated other peoples, and have undergone physical and mental modifications in consequence, does not detract from their position. Like the United States



HUNGARY

(on a much larger scale) this little nation has been strong enough to stamp its individuality on alien peoples. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that out of the nineteen million Hungarian subjects more than half are non-Magyars. These figures would indicate great weakness

in the Hungarian position were it not for the fact that the ten million non-Magyars are broken up into Slavs, Roumanians, and Germans, while the Slavs are sub-divided into Slovaks, Ruthenians, Croats and Servians. The result is the domination of the non-Magyar majority by the Magyar minority, and, moreover, it must be remembered that the greater number of the Slavs are inferior as yet in education and in power of organisation to the Magyars, while the Germans, who might have proved a serious factor, number only two millions and are being rapidly Magyarised.

We must refer in the discussion of the subject of Slav races to the measures by which they are prevented from obtaining adequate representation, and to the Magyarisation of education by which it is hoped to turn their racial ambitions into the channel of Hungarian national development. It is a strange but not incomprehensible turn of Fortune's wheel which makes the Magyars, so long strugglers against German aggression, the rulers in their turn of subject races.

In the Middle Ages Hungary was, for the times, thickly populated, the Magyars numbering some five millions. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, they were much reduced by the Turkish wars and by a pestilence which swept over the country; and early in the eighteenth century, when finally freed from the Turks, they numbered no more than three millions. Immigration from neighbouring countries filled up the gaps until in 1785 the population had nearly trebled, though of course it was more heterogeneous than formerly, the true

Magyars forming, as they still do, a numerical minority. In recent years there has been a strong tide of emigration, to which reference must be made later.

The social system in Hungary differs considerably from that of the surrounding countries. The Magnates, or great nobles, acquired a great deal of their wealth and political influence from their connection with the Court at Vienna. Maria Theresa attracted them thither, and to a great extent they became denationalised. At the present day the growing nationalistic feeling of Hungary no longer allows room for lack of patriotic feeling, but at the same time the great families, the Esterhazys, Palffys, Karolyis, or Andrassys, are to a great extent cosmopolitan in tastes and habits. There is a second class of nobility, whose position constitutes the main difference between Hungarian society and that of other European countries. Families of this rank are noble by descent, many tracing their pedigree back to the earliest days of Hungarian history, when the warriors were granted patents of nobility on condition of service to the king. There is in Hungary, as in the rest of continental Europe, no such system as that by which the children of an English noble (with the exception of the eldest son) take lower rank than their father and gradually descend until they become commoners All the children inherit the father's title and status, and the tradition of nobility is handed on whatever the fortunes of the family may be. Many of the Hungarian nobility now occupy humble stations in life and are poorly educated, but until 1848 they all enjoyed, by virtue of their birth, certain privileges and immunities, and the right of repre-

FARMYARD LABORERS, ON THE *PUSZTA*

CZIKOS ON THE *PUSZTA*, NEAR DEBRECZEN

sentation in Government which was denied to those not of noble birth. It is claimed for this Magyar nobility that they are the most distinctively national element in Hungary, being for the most part closely connected with the land, and never having come under the influence of Vienna. In 1848 (the year of revolutions) the growing influence of liberalism and national patriotism led to the abolition of these privileges by the nobility, but the aristocracy, or magnates, did not follow this example. The result has been a cleavage between the two ranks of Hungarian society, and between them has grown up a third, composed of well-to-do Jews. So wide is this guilf, and so keen are the prejudices and social sensitiveness on either side that it is seemingly easier to include the Jewish middle class than to attempt a mixture of the two ranks. This is particularly the case with women who have social ambitions and who are almost afraid to meet the ladies of high rank lest the use of the second person singular "you," (instead of "thou" used between equals) should mark their own social inferiority.

The great nobles who, as we have already said, are cosmopolitan in their tastes and habits, live on their vast estates with a great deal of state and ceremony, but their society, isolated by the break between them and their near neighbours and former friends, the small nobility, is rather a dull and empty one. The Magyars were ever a fighting race, but now that the days of real war are over, and the nation has to settle down to a period of steady, dull, economic struggle, the great nobles who regard commerce as beneath them are somewhat short of

employment. Politics, into which the smaller nobility has plunged with great heat, are as a rule uncongenial to the magnates, who do not care for the modern political arena with its sordid interests and commerciality. Pleasure, therefore, absorbs far too much of the time of the Hungarian magnate. Sometimes he may take an interest in his estate, but on the whole horses, women, and cards have a fatal attraction for him, and with his cosmopolitan education, bestowed by English and French tutors, he travels abroad more than his Austrian contemporary and finds his way to the gambling resorts and pleasure haunts of Europe. The fine characters and gifts of the women are a bright feature in this society, for by some means they have escaped the contamination of idleness and pleasure-seeking and, though unable to fight against their environment, yet their influence over their husbands and sons is a good one.

While the magnates, as a rule, keep aloof from the nobility, the latter are equally proud. Many are wealthy and live in a very handsome style, both in Budapest and on their country estates. The latter resemble country houses in England of the rather old-fashioned kind, where everything is well and gracefully done without display, and the servants are often family retainers. Unlike England, however, there is, as a rule, no village or town near the house, this being especially the case in the "puszta" estates. Everything necessary for the house is provided for in outbuildings and comes from the estate; only the post and telegraph stations must be reached by riding or driving. A disenchantment awaits those visitors whose

AT THE WELL: SCENE ON THE *PUSZTA*, HUNGARY

idea of the "puszta" is an open country (as its name actually implies) over which gallop wild horses, followed by picturesque "Czikos," riding like centaurs with white skirts streaming in the wind. The "pustza" has nearly all been reclaimed, and the only bare spot now remains near Debreczen. Nearly the whole "puszta" has been encroached upon by the Alföld and is under cultivation, and the roads are great avenues of acacia trees, planted in the last half century. Very beautiful, if not so wild and picturesque as formerly, is this region of vast spaces, where all around on every side one sees vistas of growing crops—corn, oats, maize, and wheat—waving in the light breeze which creeps across, and fading to the dim blue of a cloudless horizon. The characteristic scene on the Alföld, lovingly dwelt on by poets, is that of the shepherd, in his rough cloak, driving his flock with the aid of his dog and with a donkey always beside him. The Alföld, the richest agricultural land of Hungary, is the great central plain, the largest in Europe, and the dwellers in this region are passionately attached to their wide spaces and distant horizons, which they prefer to the most majestic mountian scenery. Even the extreme cold of the winter, when the sea of gold is turned into a frozen lake, does not shake their allegiance. And indeed this fertile alluvial plain is a true mother to the Magyar race, and in its situation and conditions lies the key to much that is wonderful in the history of the nation it shelters. A fertile soil, genial climate, and a splendid system of waterways make it one of the picked spots of Europe, and the development of the Magyar race took place under fortunate circum-

stances. It is well that they repay their motherland with the affection that is her due, for she has been the source of their prosperity and unity.[1]

The reader of Hungarian romances will, it is to be feared, be disillusioned to hear that the Magyar is not necessarily a horseman, and that, since the day of railways, he no longer springs on his steed and dashes off bare-backed at the slightest provocation. A more sophisticated period has arrived, and many Magyars have no horses to ride. Still, the love of animals is deeply implanted in the Magyar character, and the stables of the well-to-do contain many beautiful animals, while as riders and drivers the men retain their reputation. It is not usual to see horses ill-treated, as is common in some other countries of Europe. The breeding of horses, which forms an important business in Hungary to-day, has only been practised within the last century, the originator of it being Count Hunyadi. The Hungarian horse has been crossed with Arabs and Transylvanians, and the result is in great demand for strength and endurance.

The size of the estates of the Hungarian aristocracy, churches, and municipalities is phenomenal. Altogether they occupy not less than forty per cent. of the land, while several estates count more than 57,000 hectares (140,790 acres) and one or two as much as 228,000 hectares (563,160 acres).[2] The nobles of second rank own only four-

[1] Sixty per cent. of the entire population of Hungary are engaged in agriculture, or seventy-five per cent. if labourers are included.

[2] The largest land owning families are the Esterhazys, Karolyis, Palffys, Batthyanys, Festetics, Wenckheims, and Szechenyis.

teen per cent. of the land, while there is a peasant proprietor class, numbering about two millions, which owns forty-six per cent. of the land. Some of these peasant farmers are well to do, and they represent a characteristic Magyar element in the nation, having always remained on the land. Until recent years few of their children took to city life, however well to do they might be, and their homes are simple and primitive, albeit clean and comfortable. Some amusing stories are told of the typical farmers of this class. One of them, a man of considerable wealth, was well known for his adherence to old clothes and customs. On one occasion a young farmer, new to the district, who had taken a small holding not far from that of the old man, perceived a shabby figure leaning against a gate on the edge of his property and said, "Hi! old man, do you want some work?" The wearer of a shabby sheepskin took his long pipe out of his mouth and nodded gravely. "Well, you can come along to-morrow and look after some of my sheep. Bring any of your bits of things or animals with you, there's plenty of room on the farm!" Next day, as the young farmer walked across his fields, he saw a cloud of dust coming up the road. Presently there emerged from it a herd of cows, horses, and sheep—hundreds of animals with their drovers; this cavalcade swept past the astonished man and behind it was a huge waggon, creaking and groaning, laden with heavy furniture, in front of which sat his shabby acquaintance of the day before. "You told me to bring my animals and bits of things," said the old man. "And here we are!" This

gigantic practical joke is quite in character with the dry humour of the country Magyar, and many similar tales are told which illustrate his sense of humour, and a certain childish love of "putting the laugh" on someone else.

The Magyar peasant woman does not, as a rule, work in the fields. Her business is to keep the home, for the Magyar prizes comfort and insists on a certain standard of it. As a consequence the peasant houses in most agricultural districts are clean and tidy, and on the Alföld they are generally perfect models of order and cleanliness. Every self-respecting Magyar housewife wants to have a room in her tiny house on which she lavishes her skill in needlework. The great criterion of respectability is the number of embroidered pillows in this spare room, and some cottages boast as many as eight or nine of these coveted possessions. Only in the harvest time do the girls go out to carry the midday meal or help in the fields with the boys. Even when working in the fields the Hungarian will insist on having good, well-cooked food, a contrast to the Wallachs or Slovaks working beside him, who are content with a lump of bacon and bread. It is interesting to contrast these conditions of life with that described by an English traveller (Bright) in 1815. At that time, although the race was a fine one, their homes were miserable, they were forced to do *corvée* for their overlords (as much as 104 days' labour annually) and one-ninth of their produce went to their lord and one-tenth to the church. During the travels of Joseph II. through Hungary in 1766 the following petition was handed to him: "Most merciful Emperor; four days' forced labour for the Seigneur,

SHEPHERD AND HIS DOG ON THE *PUSZTA*

CATTLE HERDS ON "HORTOBAGYON"

the fifth day fishing for him, the sixth day hunting with him, the seventh belongs to God . . . how can I pay dues and taxes?" Joseph attempted to alter this state of affairs, but was obliged to withdraw his principal reforms, and the real emancipation of the serfs did not begin until 1848, when social revolution was general throughout Europe.

Undoubtedly the present Magyar standard of comfort and decency is largely due to the high position always held by their women, and it is not too much to say that this fortunate circumstance has been largely instrumental in making the Magyars what they are and keeping up their national patriotism. The women of all classes are, as a result, not only an important influence but worthy of the position they hold. The peasantry of both sexes are honest, self-respecting, sturdy, and industrious. Their manner is the reflex of their independence, mingled with natural courtesy. Everyone—peasant, overseer, shepherd, cowherd, or swineherd—kisses the hands of the ladies of their master's house, and there is no servility, only graceful courtesy, in the act.

It is to be regretted that so large a portion of this fine peasantry have been leaving their motherland—mainly from the north and from Transylvania, where the conditions are unfavourable, but also from the Alföld—especially as the emigration movement has not been altogether an economic necessity. Here, as in other countries, it is becoming impossible to retain the agricultural population on the land without more generous terms as to land tenure. The Magyar adores the land. It is the dream

of his life to own it, and if this aspiration cannot be realised at home he falls an easy victim to the emigration agent who paints dazzling pictures of the new world. Despite the surface appearance of comfort the lot of the agricultural labourer is a hard one. Wages are exceedingly low, and the system of extensive farming on the large estates makes labour scarce for part of the year. The serious character of the drain on the population is illustrated by the fact that, while the emigration in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century amounted to 20,000 to 30,000 yearly (quite large enough), it suddenly increased in 1901 to 60,000, while in 1903 it rose to 120,000. The density of the population is no explanation of this phenomenon, since Hungary has only 239 persons to 1000 acres—only four more to the acreage than Scotland.

The Hungarian government is quite awake to the evils of this state of affairs, and is taking steps to restrict and regulate emigration as far as possible. The traffic in emigrants had become widespread and received help from quarters where it ought to have found opposition. In 1903 laws were passed prohibiting many forms of recruiting and protecting the people who go. In addition, the emigration of parents who have not made provision for those left behind is prohibited, also that of male minors without consent of their parents, and female minors without the guardianship of some trustworthy and responsible person. Emigration is also denied to those without the means which will ensure them admittance elsewhere, and criminals or those under criminal investigation,

while weak-minded persons are absolutely prohibited. In order to discourage emigration there is an interdict upon speeches publicly encouraging emigration, and upon advertisements, placards, or advertisements in papers having that aim. A penalty of two months' imprisonment is inflicted for a breach of these laws, and a similar punishment is incurred by shipping agents and private persons seeking to promote emigration, and under this law no fewer than 2,000 secret emigration agents were dealt with in eighteen months, while 1,500 persons are now under police surveillance on suspicion of being connected with emigration schemes. Finally, the whole stream of emigration must now pass through Fiume, the intention being to render it more easy of regulation.

It is stated that, as in Ireland, a great deal of money is sent home by successful emigrants. This is the case not only in parts of Hungary proper but in Croatia. In the latter country the stream of the best agriculturists overseas is an increasingly serious problem—there are said to be now no less than 270,000 Croats in America—since these men (drawn from the land) as a rule go to work in mines or manufactories, and if they return have lost their love of the land, while those left behind, especially the women, are encouraged to depend on remittances and become lazy and shiftless. This state of affairs exactly reproduces the conditions in some parts of Ireland.

The Magyars, it must be noted, are suffering less from this economic result of emigration, since money sent home is spent on land, and the Magyar will return to his native country whenever possible; but already, even on the

rather than local colour—gives them a special value, and some of his descriptions, as, for instance, that of a flood in "The Hungarian Nabob," are extraordinarily vivid and truthful. He is more successful in describing scenes which he has actually witnessed than in reconstructing them from imagination. The scene of some of his most successful novels, Transylvania, retained the flavour of a vanished era till quite recent years. Some of the Transylvanian nobles lived in almost feudal style, and one or two were noted for eccentricities which make them legitimate descendants of the erratic figures on Jokai's canvas. Not so many years ago one of these was discovered by a visitor, dressed in old Magyar clothes and drilling a squad of geese in his courtyard. Another, in hot weather, imitated the Bedouins, camping out in his park, directing operations as if in the desert, striking tents early and pitching them at sunset. Yet another, wishing to retain a visitor who for some days had been desirous of leaving, had the wheels of his travelling carriage taken off and placed at the top of a high tree by a *tsigane,* the only man who could climb it, and who was then sent away to the nearest town! Eccentricities like these are disappearing as communications improve, but life in a Transylvanian castle is still full of interest and colour; the peasants of different races wear their national dresses, the scenery is magnificent, and the welcome warm. Hungarians of all ranks are much attracted to English people. The aristocracy and nobility have English tutors and governesses and learn to speak our language. The English love of an out-of-doors life, the passion for horses and for

sport, are all links to bind the two peoples together, and in no country in the world will the English-speaking man, Briton or American, if he is sympathetic and educated, find a warmer welcome or more hospitable treatment.

It is always dangerous to attempt to generalise about the character of a race, and in writing of Hungarian character this task is rendered more difficult by the great variety of peoples dwelling within the Hungarian borders. Although some of these, as we said, have been at first assimilated, yet they cannot yet be regarded as fused into one nation. Slovaks, Wallachs, Serbs, Swabs, and Saxons are not yet mingled, as are the diverse elements in the English nation. The true Magyar type exists, but is chiefly confined to the Alföld, and the modern Hungarian, although patriotically Magyar in sentiment, is not typically Magyar in appearance or character. The general impression in Europe, that the Magyar is essentially lively, bold, rash, and roystering, is one which, according to students of their own country, has grown up in modern times. The early Magyars were fighters, and the country has always been warlike, but the true Magyar character is simpler, less aggressive, and more reserved and dignified than the popular idea. One of the statesmen of the day is described by his countrymen as the ideal Magyar, so that a description of his character and way of life may convey a better picture than a generalisation. Count Blank is a tall, slight figure, erect in bearing, plain and almost sombre in dress, like the peasants on his estate. To strangers his manner is undemonstrative, though courteous and kind, but in his family he displays affection and

HUNGARIAN FARMHOUSE AND PEASANTS

has the reputation of being a model in his family relations. He is just, and his judgment, founded on a wide range of reading, is good. He is neither expansive nor easily moved, though he has in excess the two Hungarian passions—love of politics and horses. In many ways he resembles the old English Tory country gentleman, especially in his hatred of modern newspapers, new-fangled customs, and the artificiality and hurry of modern life. He has all the high sense of honour and honesty of this type, and with it a lack of the tact and finesse which are indispensable to a modern party leader. He is an excellent landlord, too, and, like his English prototype, likes to be out in the open all day, riding and driving, and (with a contempt for luxury which our old-fashioned Tory hardly emulated) he is out before six o'clock in the morning, and every day does the rounds of his estate, some thirty-five miles, either in the saddle or driving. In the latter case he will frequently drive four horses. His house is big and rambling, comfortable but not luxurious. The furniture is not antique or beautiful, but neither is it modern and hideous. It is just homely and comfortable, and the servants match it well; many have been all their lives in the same service. The cooking is simple and good; the wines are really excellent. This is not the type of nobleman's house where the owner gambled away his fortune and did dare-devil deeds. That type existed, but was more usual in the wilder Transylvanian country than on this sober plain. There is a "plain" character, and a "hill" character, and the same race will develop quite differently under different conditions of physical geography.

These plain-bred Magyars were a prudent, canny people, like the Lowland Scots. The true Magyar is no reckless spendthrift. He has a keen sense of the value of money, and though hospitable, he is not lavish or wasteful; the peasant class indeed are specially distinguished for thrift. The patriarchal system, tremendous hospitality, and reckless waste may have been found in an earlier stage of development, especially among the magnates, but the scale of living was far less magnificent than in other European countries at the same period, nor was reckless extravagance typically Magyar. Our typical Magyar, although descended from a long line of nobility, and though, like all Magyars (of every rank) very self-respecting, would be the last man to sacrifice anything to show, and ostentation his soul abhors. Unfortunately for Hungary, this type of Magyar nobleman is not so common as might be wished. Those who take part in public life have become infected by a spirit of restlessness and excitability, which, it is said, was largely introduced by Louis Kossuth, who had imagination, magnetism, and oratorical gifts in such a high degree. Eloquence is, however, as natural to Hungarians of all races as to the Latin peoples, and this is at once a help and a danger to them in their political evolution.

There is one group of Magyar characteristics which, in curious contrast to what we may term their English and Scottish affinities, gives them a resemblance to the Irish. They are, like the Irish, anxious to make a good impression, and this not merely because of personal vanity, but for the same genuine, childlike impulse so character-

istic of the Irish. Their patriotism leads them to make sacrifices in order to put their country in a favourable light before foreigners, but their instinct is almost as strong in this matter as any conscious feeling of patriotism. It is hardly necessary to remark that this attitude of mind is essentially different from that of the English or Lowland Scot, whose very pride in their own countries makes them averse to shewing that they are proud, and who do not care for the approval of others sufficiently to make any effort to secure it. The Magyar has the dramatic sense and has sensibility and imagination. He is, therefore, unable to emulate the serene indifference of the typical Briton, and is perhaps somewhat inclined, at the present stage of his career, to go rather far in the direction of indulging in rhetorical and theatrical effects. Like many people who are not constitutionally noisy (and the Magyars are unlike the Irish in this respect) the Hungarian politician is apt, when inflamed by his own eloquence, to think more of the immediate effect of his words than of their permanent value. Once roused, even the true Magyar is hot in wrath and hard to control, but the storm soon passes and leaves a cool blast of reflection.

Are the Magyars good workers? One has heard many contrary accounts in this respect, and as a matter of fact it is not possible to judge all workers by the same standard. The Magyar is not, like the German, one of your steady, plodding, regular workers. The Slovaks who work in his fields have this habit of patient industry far more than he. But he can work, and he does work—like all men with a temperament—very hard at times.

In the summer is his busy time, and the erratic Magyar will do more work in one week than a Slovak in two. In the winter he feels he has earned the right to recreation, for it must be observed that in one respect the Hungarian is on a high plane of civilisation; he does not recognise work as the end of his being but as a means to an end. After an intensely utilitarian period (from which many civilised countries have hardly yet emerged) we are beginning to perceive that this really indicates a high and not a low ideal of life. Having turned whole nations into machines for doing so much work, we are now busily trying to find ways in which they can be raised again to a level in which the beauty of mere existence is once more evident to them. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance in judging a people to find out whether they have any idea of rational amusement, and in this respect the Hungarians must be placed above the English or Americans, at least so far as the proletariat and middle classes are concerned. They have a sense of beauty which our own people (unless educated) lack, which they display in their amusements, partly in gay and picturesque dress and partly in dancing and music.

In the matter of costume it is to be regretted that the era of the hideous " ready-made " is already interfering with the peasant dresses, but in the country districts they still survive, and among the Slovaks in the north, the Saxons and Wallachs of Transylvania, and the Croats and Serbs of the south there is a wonderful variety of costumes, little altered for hundreds of years. The retention of these dresses, too often looked upon as a sign of back-

MAGYAR PEASANTS, NEAR BUDAPEST

GYPSY TYPE, HUNGARY

wardness in a people, should be regarded as a positive virtue, not only for æsthetic reasons, but because they foster racial pride and industry (they are covered with beautiful embroideries), and save their wearers from the slovenly and degrading habit of wearing cheap, second-hand clothes. Even in the towns of Austria-Hungary one does not see the crowds of badly dressed girls and women of the poorer classes in cheap and tawdry finery, or cast-off clothes of once-fashionable cut. Neat, plain clothes are the rule in the towns and in the country, and the retention of the national costumes prevents the change of "fashion" and rivalry in imitation smartness. It is impossible to describe any of the hundreds of peasant costumes either of Austria or Hungary, of which only a few are illustrated in this book. Many date from mediæval times, and are full of historic significance. The modern well-to-do Magyar peasant wears an adaptation of the ordinary ugly garments of civilisation which is neat and smart, if not specially picturesque, but the working clothes of the shepherd or "Csikos" are a trifle more romantic. The most beautiful costumes are the court dresses, copied from those of the seventeenth century, now donned by officials on all possible occasions. They are rich in fabric and sober in hue. Plum-coloured velvet and fur are favourite materials, but the inevitable Oriental touch is given in the curved scimitar which is carried, and in the aigrette adorning the fur cap or turban, as also in the profusion of jewellery which is worn by those who can afford it. A function in Budapest, adorned by these gorgeous figures, is a picturesque sight, and even the vision

of a German Jew parading proudly in the dress of a Magyar noble of the seventeenth century does not spoil the impressiveness of the spectacle. Such men as Count Apponyi or Mr. Strobl (the sculptor of the St. Stephen statue, recently unveiled) look like heroes of romance rather than denizens in a workaday world.

Nothing is more indicative of the character of a people than its amusements, but as different races take their pleasures from different points of view, the English and American student of Hungary may perhaps think that the national love of dancing and music does not shew that soberness and solidity of character which we claim for the true Magyar. This is because our Puritan revolution has planted within the British (and therefore the American) mind the ineradicable conviction that dancing and music are in themselves if not exactly sinful (we think we have outgrown that!) yet rather near it—frivolous at best. The Hungarians never passed through this flame of self-conscious righteousness, and they dance still as children dance, the natural and even religious expression of their pleasure in existence. Dancing was a form of religious expression before any living religion was formulated, and the Oriental influence in Hungary has been sufficient to keep alive this side of the question if necessary, but, as a matter of fact, the Hungarian is not sufficiently self-conscious to wonder why he dances. He dances because it seems right and natural and because he is naturally musical and loves rhythm. Some of the peasant dances are of ancient origin, but the modern *czardas,* which is regarded as the " national " dance, is probably not

FUNERAL OF A HUNGARIAN ARTIST, BUDAPEST

quite so old as is usually imagined. The mention of dancing immediately suggests the *tsigane,* without whom no dance in Hungary would be complete. The *tsiganes* are those strange Eastern people who under various names are found throughout Europe, and by a curious confusion of ideas became known in England as Egyptians or gypsies. In 1890 there were some 95,000 of them in Hungary, which they are believed to have entered in the fourteenth century. Attempts have been made to form settlements for them, but as a rule their nomadic habits are as ineradicable as their language—the so-called Romany—which they jealousy preserve, despite their own facility for learning other tongues. The Hungarian *tsiganes* are true Orientals in appearance, tawny, yellow of hue, with lustrous dark eyes, gleaming white teeth and black hair slightly frizzed. They are described as the spoilt children of nature, passionate, crafty, superstitious, thriftless and indolent, and their occupations are chiefly horse lifting and dealing, palmisty, music and a little metal working.

Nothing has been more advertised and less understood than the *tsigane* music of Hungary. The *tsigane,* as we know, is found all over Europe, and the reason why he has become specially famous for his music in Hungary is probably to be explained by the fact that the Magyar helped him to develop a particular side of his talent. There is no doubt that the *tsiganes* of Hungary are essentially musical and that this is the result partly of heredity and partly of training. The smallest children have a violin put into their hands and begin to imitate their elders, and there is among the whole people a sense

heart, of stirring the blood. They have the mysterious magnetism of the East in their bows, and they draw the very hearts out of the simple peasants, even inducing in them a kind of hysteria. Educated people are influenced in a lesser degree, but even they are carried away by this strange influence. Is it the East calling to her children? Can it be that the Magyars are too new—only a little over a thousand years—from their home in the great mother continent and that Asia calls them through these wandering vagabonds who have never made a home since they left their sacred mountains? It is said by some Hungarians that the influence of this sensuous Oriental music is not a good one, that it resembles dram drinking, and by the intensity of the feeling it arouses wears out the nerves and saps the vitality of the people. Outside the *tsigane* there is nothing very distinctive about Hungarian music. The whole country is musical in the sense that the people love to sing, or to listen to music, and village bands and choral societies flourish. It is difficult in this matter, however, to decide how much is due to outside influence. The Slavs—all branches of them—are notoriously musical. Their beautiful folk songs are found in every part of eastern and central Europe. They carry their pre-eminence out of the range of natural music and are distinguished as composers, as executants, and even as creators of style. The Teutons are musical in quite another way. Theirs is the music of mentality, the expression in musical form of the highest intellectual achievements rather than appeals to the emotions. Italy again has a musical race, a people whose thoughts shape themselves in music, and who are

naturally as melodic as birds. Amid all these surroundings the Magyar, even were he not naturally musical, could not fail to be influenced, but his impressionability to music makes it certain that he has a natural trend in that direction. One gift of the musical nations the Magyars have not. Unlike the Slavs, the Italians, or the Welsh of the British islands, they have not the gift of song. Their voices are rather unpleasing, and they have produced few singers, and none of the front rank. Their list of musical celebrities is short (if we count only those of more than local fame) and contains one or two of doubtful Magyar origin. The abbé Liszt and the violinist Nachez are the best known.

In poetry Hungary claims to have produced a genius on a level with Shakespeare and Goethe, though the untranslatable character of his verse makes it difficult to institute a comparison. Petöfi, however, certainly exercises over his countrymen the spell only cast by poets of the first order, and the range of his sympathies is sufficiently catholic to be Shakesperian. This peasant poet, with the heart of crystal and mouth of gold, sang at the troubled period of Hungarian history before and during the revolution of '48. He died young, and his grave is unknown, but his voice speaks to the Magyar of every rank in accents fresh and ringing—speaks of the beloved land, of her historic greatness, and the destiny of her people, of simple joys, of pastoral idylls—covering the whole field of Magyar interest. His nearest rival was a contemporary, Jean Arany, and the third great national poet was Vörösmarty. Petöfi, it is said, was not Magyar

GYPSY WOMEN AND CHILDREN

by descent, but Slav, which lends interest to the following discrimination between the two greatest poets, freely translated from an article by a Hungarian: "Petöfi, the turbulent fire of enthusiasm and the free expression of every thought and feeling; Arany, the contemplative truthfulness and charm of classic form. Together they regenerated with all its riches the spirit and the letter of the national poetry, by following to its sources their native language."

There are now no poets of this stature, and the most distinguished modern man of letters was the novelist Jokai, of whom we have already written. His "Magyar nabob" is considered to be the truest picture of Hungarian life before 1830; "Rose Jaune" describes with vividness the provincial noblesse, and the "New Proprietor" deals with the Absolutist régime. Two other great novelists are Kemény and Eötvös; the latter particularly has qualities of imagination and humour which should make him readable to others than his own countrymen. There are now innumerable writers and poets, but the period is not the heroic one, and Hungary, like England and America, is enduring a period of literary mediocrity. There is a natural poetic turn among the people, and their love for Nature is often expressed in beautiful words. A young servant, who went to the mountains with his master and mistress, developed a great fondness for gathering the hill flowers. "Yes," he said, "I love them, but when they see me I feel that they say, 'Ah, here comes the man who wants to kill us!'"

Theatre-going, as a popular amusement, is naturally

restricted to town life. It presents no striking features. Budapest has a national theatre, where plays of a patriotic character are specially patronised, and there is a national opera house. There is a good deal of dramatic talent among the Magyars and dramatic literature is supported by the government. But France and Italy supply Budapest, as they do Vienna, London and New York, with most of its theatrical fare, the great exception being, of course, that Wagner has his following in the world of opera. The lighter theatrical fare is also borrowed a good deal from foreign countries. Recently there were advertised in Budapest two English plays, Zangwill's "Merely Mary Ann" and Conan Doyle's "Sherlock Holmes," while the third was a Hungarian farce containing a number of conventional foreign characters—"Yankee Bill," etc. The somewhat morbid modern school of Norway and the decadents of France are now influencing the younger Magyar writers and critics, rather to the detriment of the national, distinctiveness, which is so remarkable in Petöfi or Jokai.

The volume and quantity of Magyar writing, both journalistic and that of a more permanent character, is surprising when we remember how recent is its growth. In 1823 there were only four publications written partly in Magyar and none in that tongue only. To-day there are 1500 publications, of which more than 1000 are in Magyar, and this number increases continually, particularly in periodical literature and journalism.

The subject of Hungarian poetry and drama leads one at once to the consideration of a question which has been

a most controversial one. The merits and demerits of the Hungarian language have been hotly discussed in their bearing on the development of the people. The tongue spoken by the Magyars is of Ural-Altaic origin, and this fact distinguishes them from the other people of Europe. Their language has, however, been subjected to many influences, and has incorporated Italian, Slav, German, and Latin words, while the close contact of many centuries with the Ottoman Turks introduced many Turkish words.

In the Middle Ages, Magyar was not yet a literary language. Up to a certain period, while the different parts of Europe were cast into the crucible and were evolving distinct nationalities from heterogeneous materials, the Church, the one repository of learning and culture, dictated the tongue of schoolmen of all parts of the Christian world. This tongue was Latin, and Latin was the polite language of Hungary. As late as 1815, an English traveller, Robert Bright, records that in wayside inns in Hungary he was able to converse through the medium of Latin with the minor officials and better class farmers, as well as with the nobility. Indeed, while the growth of German culture and the influence of the Reformation combined to introduce a more living language into the rest of Central Europe, Hungary opposed the introduction of German, and preferred to use Latin, not only in literature, but in official and social life. Joseph II., however, made a determined attempt to make German the language of all his domains, this being part of the policy of centralisation devised by Maria Theresa, in which it was essential that

law and administration should have a common language in every part of the Habsburg possessions.

Under this pressure a revival of the Magyar tongue began, and it was not only revived, but was actually created as a literary tongue. The task was a tremendous one, for Hungarian literature was practically non-existent; there were no Hungarian universities, and the language was not taught in the schools. In fact, this ancient national tongue had been degraded to the position of a patois, unrecognised save as the means of communication among the uneducated. When, therefore, in 1825, Count Stephen Szechenyi rose in the Diet and addressed his compatriots in the vulgar tongue, the effect was to electrify them. Only one of the genuine Magyar nobles, a member of one of the oldest and finest families, could have dared such a revolutionary proceeding. It was of course part of a preconceived scheme for reviving the Hungarian national independence, and it is said that of the patriots who took the most prominent part in this great movement more than one was handicapped by not being familiar with Magyar. This language revival in Hungary is of the most intense interest to all students of political and social phenomena, and also to an even wider class to whom the psychology of peoples is a fascinating study. It has been argued, and not without reason, that the rejection by the Hungarians of a great living language, possessing one of the finest literatures of the age and affording the open sesame to the best modern works of science and philosophy, was a mistake; that their deliberate resuscitation of so exotic a tongue as Magyar cuts them off from the rest of the West-

"HONVED" AND MOUNTED POLICE, HUNGARY

GROUP OF HUNGARIAN PEASANTS

ern world, retards their mental growth, and hinders their development economically as well as intellectually. As to the rival merits of the two languages, it seems almost puerile to argue. As a medium of expression Magyar may be all that is claimed. It is said to be rich and full in synonyms, flexible, and simple in construction, poetical in form, characteristic in idiom. It is certainly musical on the lips of educated people, distinct in articulation, adapted for oratory, and yet capable of clearness in expression. Moreover, it has not been corrupted by dialects, but is practically the same everywhere and in every rank of life. But with all these inherent virtues it cannot be denied that a language whose literature dates practically from the middle of last century, and which will never carry a man beyond his own frontiers, is not the best medium for a liberal education. Hungarians recognise this and are accustomed to learn other languages, in order to supply the deficiencies in their own. The educated people are extraordinarily good linguists, quite as good as the Russians, whose reputation in this respect is so great. Nor can it be denied that this necessity for learning languages is an educative stimulus and that the effect is most happy on those who are in a position to obtain educational advantages. Nevertheless, the Hungarians did make sacrifices, and continue to make them, in the preservation of their language. They put on one side the more obvious advantages of adopting German, and they submitted to the economic handicap and the educational difficulties, which will become more apparent when the rise of a Hungarian democracy modifies the present system of

government by the cultured classes. This they did because of the instinct which told them that national existence is bound up with national traditions and a native language.

The political struggles centred round this point—the revival of Magyar as the language of schools and administration—and in 1825 a National Academy was formed, by means of subscriptions from every part of the kingdom. Soon after the middle of the century the Austrian Government was compelled to allow Magyar to be used for the laws, government and administration, but only after 1867 was Hungary entirely free to follow out her own programme. In 1834 the National Theatre was founded with the object of performing only such plays as would stimulate Hungarian patriotism, and the National Museum, founded in 1802, has been made a most interesting and instructive object lesson in the historic greatness of the kingdom.

Education was entirely remodelled on the German plan, which is now followed in its most progressive details in the principal school centres. Nevertheless, the condition of general education is still backward, and it is calculated that fifty per cent. of the population are illiterate. This percentage, however, includes Croatia-Slavonia, where the peasants are still in a very backward condition, and in any case it must be remembered that the population is the most difficult for which to provide elementary education, being to a large degree agricultural and scattered. Moreover, the task of taking over control from the clergy was necessarily a gradual one, and altogether Hungary had an up-hill task in reorganising

her education, and it is much to her credit that in the twenty years between 1880 and 1900 the number of those who could read and write was nearly doubled. Technical and industrial education are receiving a great share of attention, and trade schools and other facilities for training industrial workers form part of the Government policy of endeavouring to make Hungary independent of Austria. Naturally the language question complicates elementary education, as the school population is in many districts predominantly non-Magyar, while in others there is a mixture of races. The Magyars are anxious that their tongue should be the only official one in the kingdom, and their policy of Magyarisation is bearing fruit. Although the Magyars are less than half the population, seventy-six per cent. of the schools use their language, twelve per cent. use German, and the five million Slavs (a quarter of the total population of Hungary) have only five per cent. of the schools using their native tongues.

Although the economic question must be discussed in a separate chapter, it may be useful here to record what the Magyar revival has done for Hungarian trade. The Society for Promotion of Hungarian Manufactures and Commerce was founded by Kossuth in 1844, at a time when "Hungarian manufactures" were almost non-existent. In 1875 a national exhibition was held to draw attention to the industries of the country, still in a somewhat embryonic condition, and a campaign of self-denial was begun whereby all patriotic Magyars bound themselves to use the native manufactures even when inferior, rather than those imported from Vienna. One of the most

striking features was the determined stand made by tobacco smokers, which helped very largely to develop the local industry, now an important one and a source of revenue. Although this artificial stimulation could not in itself have recreated Hungary as an industrial country, it has helped to give an impulse in that direction. Hungary, with excellent waterways, communications, woods, coal, and other natural resources, is a country naturally adapted for industrial expansion, and there are unmistakable signs that she is actually embarking on a successful career as an industrial country. That there are difficulties and dangers in this course cannot be denied, and it is perhaps unfavourable that the true Magyar is essentially an agriculturist or pastoral in his tastes. The optimistic Hungarian will not allow that this may prove a serious difficulty. He points to the important class, the smaller nobility, who since 1848 have gradually lost much of their connection with the land and become an urban people. Others of this class have started industries on their estates. If these people can develop real commercial instincts and become the capitalists, the captains and directors in the industrial movement, all will be well; but they have to face serious competitors—Germans, with German capital behind them, and the ubiquitous Jew, who is becoming the universal middleman throughout Central Europe.

The policy of State aid to industries began seriously in 1881. Within ten years 195 factories and 266 agricultural spirit distilleries sprang up. In 1890 a very strong measure was taken in granting subsidies to new undertakings, as well as exempting industries from taxation.

The textile industry is the one most heavily supported. Besides direct subsidies loans are granted by the State on easy terms, and everything possible is done to facilitate matters by the Ministry of Commerce. A Bill of an even more radical character for the encouragement of industry becomes law in January, 1907. It is too early as yet to judge whether this method, so entirely opposed to that by which Great Britain built up her industrial prosperity, is likely to be successful. A great deal depends on certain political conditions which must be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

The railway policy of Hungary is closely allied to her commercial policy. After 1867 Hungary had her own railway administration, and for a time the system of privately owned lines, guaranteed by Government, was continued. Eventually, however, the State decided to take over the lines, which has been done in various ways (by forced sale if necessary), so that to-day nearly all the lines are State owned. The zone system was adopted, Hungary being the first country to introduce it. By this system the tariff is relatively lower as the distance increases, thus promoting long-distance traffic. The result has been to give an impetus to passenger and goods traffic, which justifies the experiment, although the railways are still an expense and not a revenue-producing source. Travel in Hungary is not only cheap, but on the State lines is comfortable, and the courtesy of officials is a pleasant feature, while there is not the necessity to keep an incessant eye on one's luggage (and often have it rifled even then) which makes travelling in Italy such an unpleasant experience. Restaur-

ants are very fair, and sleeping accommodation can be had in the International *wagons-lits* which are familiar to all travellers. The Hungarian network of communications is good and the railway system continues to be extended, so that before long every portion of this large kingdom will be easily accessible.

A few words as to Hungarian hotels may not be out of place here. A few years ago they were notoriously bad, but great improvement has taken place; all the more frequented places have comfortable accommodation and, though in the principal towns the rates are high, yet on the whole Hungary compares favourably in this respect with other countries.

In tracing the nationalist revival of Hungary one is struck with many resemblances to the Czech revival which took place simultaneously, but in one respect Hungary and Bohemia differ. Religion has not played the historic part in the former that it has in the latter. Hungary received her Christianity, it is said, from Bohemia, for her first Christian king, St. Stephen, was converted by a Bohemian monk. Stephen converted his people by somewhat forcible measures, and as a reward the title "Apostolic King" was bestowed on him by the Pope, and has been worn by his successors ever since. Since that time the majority of the Magyars, unlike the Czechs, have been firm in their adherence to the Roman Catholic Church, to which fifty-one per cent. in Hungary belong. The Habsburg influence was actively Catholic, and the Protestants were even at times protected by the Turks. Despite local disputes religious toleration has been, on the

LACE-MAKER, TRANSYLVANIA

ROUMAN (WALLACH) WOMAN, TRANSYLVANIA

whole, more general in Hungary than in any other part of Central Europe, and to-day there is little feeling of antagonism between the various sects. The magnates are, on the whole, Catholics, the Greek Church claims twenty-three per cent. (chiefly among the Serbo-Croats), while the German colonists are mainly Evangelical. Some of the old families belong to the Reformed Churches, a certain number having professed Calvinism, while there are a considerable number of Lutherans among the smaller nobility. The religious question, crystallised into the clerical and non-clerical points of view, has influenced political life, and is important in local considerations, but it has no broad distinctions and is more of an auxiliary than a directing factor in modern political life. One disturbing feature of religious life in Austria is found also in Hungary in the fact that the church owns very large areas of land, so that the wide range of questions in which the land-owning interest is predominant is complicated by the intrusion of the politico-religious element which so greatly embitters the situation in parts of Austria.

In all that has been written hitherto of the Hungarians it has been the Magyars, as far as possible, that have been taken as the basis of the country. But on three sides of the central plains, which are the true Magyar country, there are mountainous fringes in which the predominant element is non-Magyar, while to the south is the country of Croatia-Slavonia, racially and historically independent of Hungary but politically dependent on it since 1090. The mountains of Transylvania, to the east and southeast of Hungary, are extraordinarily interesting, not only from

the wildness and grandeur of their scenery, but from their turbulent history as the bulwark for centuries of Christianity against Mohammedanism. The tide broke over them again and again, and the impress of the Oriental was left on the country, and gives it a strange non-European flavour even to-day. The early Magyar colonists in Transylvania are known as Szeklers, "guardians of the frontier," and they are descendants of old conquering bands. In some districts the landed proprietors are all Magyar, though the population is Rouman or Wallach, and this beautiful mountain country is rent with dissensions as to race and language which seriously retard its development. The racial and linguistic situation is, indeed, extraordinary. There are in this small country no fewer than six distinct races (Szeklers, Moldo-Wallachians, Saxons, Jews, Armenians and gypsies), five languages (Magyar, German, Roumanian, Greek, and Tsigane), and five religions. This is one of the provinces of Hungary in which the religious question is a burning one, and it is complicated by the fact that the races themselves are divided into religious sects. Thus the Moldo-Wallachians, who claim descent from the early Roumans (supposed to be the result of colonisation by Roman legions), speak a bastard Latin tongue and belong to two sections of the Greek church, the Orthodox and the United. The latter is a compromise between the Roman and Greek communions, in which the marriage of the clergy, the giving of the Cup to the laity in the sacrament, and the use of the vulgar tongue in services, are conceded. Naturally there is considerable dissension between the two sects.

ROUMAN PEASANTS, FROM SOUTHEAST HUNGARY

The Saxons (German colonists brought in by the Hungarians, who granted them special privileges) form small but prosperous communities, and were at one time entirely self-governing on the condition of furnishing military service to the emperor. They are all strict Lutherans, and get their ideas and education largely from German sources. They are a very independent people, industrious and self-respecting, and belong to the burgher rather than the peasant class. The Szeklers, and Magyars of a later settlement, represent three more sects, the former being Unitarian and the latter both Roman Catholic and Protestant. Some of the oldest aristocratic families of Transylvania, however, are Calvinist, and besides all these Christian sects there are the Jews and gypsies, the latter being still practically pagans.

The nationalist movement centres in the Rouman population, stimulated by the renascence and prosperity of the kingdom of Roumania, to which, historically, they belong. In 1848, during the Hungarian revolution, the Roumans, like the Croats, sided with Austria and received (when the settlement came) similar treatment; that is to say, they were handed back to Hungary. The influence of the powerful Magyar nobles of Transylvania was instrumental in securing this, and indeed it is hard to see what settlement would have been satisfactory to all the races involved. The dissatisfaction of the Rouman population, however, continues and their racial feeling shews no sign of diminution. They keep up an entirely voluntary system of elementary schools (of which there are said to be over 2000) in opposition to the Hungarian

state schools where the language is Magyar. In 1895 the Roumans, Slovaks, and Serbs held a congress and formed an alliance for the preservation of local autonomy; and the local press never ceases to agitate for national rights. The fact, however, that the landed aristocracy is mostly Magyar, and that economic pressure is in favour of the Hungarians, is against the realisation of these aspirations; nor is it easy to see what other policy Hungary could pursue than that of upholding her sovereignty and therefore declining to recognise separate national rights, although she may permit full local autonomy. With the most serious of these claims to separate nationality within the Hungarian kingdom—that of Croatia-Slavonia—we must deal separately, as it comes under the head of Slav development; and under the same heading we must speak of Galicia, also a Slav country.

Before taking leave of this brief outline sketch of the Hungarians, however, we must give some slight description of their capital, and of one or two beauty spots in their country of which they are justly proud. The average English traveller who does the journey between Vienna and Budapest (comparatively dull and monotonous, whether by rail or river) and then goes on to Bucharest on his way to Constantinople, has little idea of the range of scenery in this beautiful country. We have spoken of the Alföld, that wonderful plain; in summer a vast sheet of cultivated fields spreading in waves of gold and green to the horizon; in winter a frozen sea, the grey broken only by dark masses of farm buildings. We have also mentioned the wild romantic scenery of Transylvania.

VILLAGE WORKERS, TRANSYLVANIA

NATIONAL DANCE: ROUMANS, TRANSYLVANIA

Of late years the Carpathians, the loftiest mountains of Hungary, have become accessible by rail, and are now on a fair way to develop into a second Switzerland as a pleasure and health resort. The *Hohe Tatra,* the central portion of these mountains, has the most magnificent scenery imaginable, and at the time of year when Central Europe is hot, the climate in these alpine regions is ideal. Great jagged masses of mountain rise sheer from green wooded valleys; beautiful pine woods cover the lower mountain slopes, and the panoramic views obtained from some of the peaks are so wide in range and vivid and changing in colour as to defy reproduction. Hotels are springing up on these slopes, and well-to-do Hungarians are making country homes in these beautiful valleys. The north side of the Carpathians is patronised both as a winter and summer resort by Poles and Galicians. The peasantry here are Galicians, while on the south side one finds, besides the Slovaks, those interesting German villages called the free "Zip" towns, settled originally in the thirteenth century. The names throughout on the south side have been Magyarised. Neu and Alt Schmecks have become U. and O. Tatrafüred. To the south of Hungary, near the Hungarian-Servian border, is the lovely Cserna valley, one of the most beautiful spots in the kingdom, where is the ancient Roman bath known as the "Bath of Hercules." The scenery on the Danube is throughout interesting and often beautiful, but the most striking portion is that between Belgrade and Orsova (on the Servo-Hungarian frontier) where the river passes through the Kazan gorge. The tablet recording Trajan's

feat of making a road along this gorge still remains to remind us of an heroic age. A little below Orsova is an interesting relic of Turkish invasions in the island of Ada Kaleh, which after several changes of owner was finally ceded by the Turks to Hungary in 1878. The inhabitants were all Turkish, and retained their ancient mode of life and their feeling of dependence on the Sultan, and the Hungarian government has not interfered with them. The decay of smuggling and increasing economic pressure is now inducing these people to emigrate, and the picturesque remnant of Turkish rule in Hungary bids fair to disappear altogether.

But the pride of the Magyars undoubtedly centres most in their capital, the twin towns of Pest and Ofen, since 1872 united as Budapest. The situation is far finer than that of Vienna, being on both banks of the Danube. The right bank rises up in a steep slope, crowned with trees and fine buildings, presenting, especially in the evening, a picturesque and romantic appearance. Although the towns of Ofen and Pest have ancient origins (the former being situated on what was once a Roman settlement, capital of Lower Pannonia, and the latter being an old German town before the thirteenth century, when the Mongols destroyed it), yet Budapest is essentially a modern town; and in fact, like nearly everything in modern Hungary, it dates almost entirely from the Ausgleich (1867). It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the Hungarians, in building their capital, did not endeavour to give it some distinctive features, as has been done with such towns as modern Nuremberg. The difficulty was,

IN THE HIGH TATRA, HUNGARY

CSORBA LAKE, HUNGARY (HIGH TATRA)

however, that there was in reality no old Budapest to serve as a model. The city had become mainly German and was not until after the national revival the focussing point of national traditions, as was the case of Prague with the Bohemians. The church of Mathias, dating from the thirteenth century, is almost the only historic building that remains. Here the kings and queens of Hungary must be crowned with the crown of St. Stephen. The royal castle of Visegrad (a Slav word meaning "high fortress"), inhabited by the kings of Hungary as early as the eleventh century and restored by Mathias Corvinus, was destroyed by the Turks, and the modern royal residence, originally built by Maria Theresa, was partially burned in 1849 but has since been restored, rebuilt and enlarged. This magnificent royal palace—from whose terraces a fine view of the Danube and the city spread out on its banks is obtained—stands empty and silent almost all the year. The King comes at times, but seldom for more than a few days, and when he appears brings with him his whole staff of servants, every article of household plenishing and food, and even, if the bitter Hungarian report can be believed, his Austrian wines and mineral waters. No other member of the royal family comes to Budapest, and the heir, the Archduke Ferdinand, is unknown there. This neglect is a source of great grievance to the Magyars, who not only built their king a splendid residence, but must in addition to its upkeep contribute to the civil list. They feel that the presence of their monarch is necessary for the dignity of his Hungarian capital and that without it, for a part of the year at all events,

the royal city is shorn of its splendour and they themselves deprived of their rights. Hungarian nobles have now made their homes in Budapest instead of Vienna. The Esterhazys, Festetics, Karolyis, and Pallavicinis have built splendid palaces, and all that is wanting from the social point of view is the centre and stimulus which the court could supply.

The principal public buildings are in the Renaissance style and are handsome, if not characteristic. The Parliament House is a fine though florid pile, but already it is not large enough for the requirements. In the pretty suburbs are parks for recreation, of which the Town park is the most popular, and one of the favourite resorts is the beautifully situated Margit Island, which is reached by river steamboats.

The bridges over the Danube, of which there are five, afford an interesting object lesson in the development of the Magyars. The first was built by an English firm, the second by a French, the third by a German, the fourth by Hungarians and Germans, and the fifth, from inception to completion, by Hungarians alone—plans, materials, everything—as the Hungarians proudly proclaim. All names of streets and buildings are now Magyarised, but an even more interesting process is converting the names of citizens as far as possible to a Hungarian form. Now, the population of Budapest is by no means predominantly Magyar. The Jewish element is extraordinarily prevalent, the official estimate being one-fourth of the total population. They not only control the press and money affairs, as in other European cities, but actually

ROYAL CASTLE, BUDAPEST

do physical labour as porters, cab drivers, and in other humble walks of life. As tradesmen they are ubiquitous, and in some of the main streets the names over the shops are indicative of a compromise between German-Jewish racial pride and the Magyarisation which is at work. Thus, Mr. Rosenberg has "Bela" as his "Christian" name, while Mr. Rosenbaum selects "Ferencz." In a short period, therefore, German names, whether of Jewish origin or not, have been largely replaced by Magyar, and the Magyar form of first names is universally adopted. According to statistics six-sevenths of the inhabitants of Budapest speak Magyar and only one-seventh German, and it is by no means unusual for middle-aged people, who were brought up to speak German, to refuse to use that tongue in conversation with strangers. The situation is exactly similar in Prague, and the traveller who expects a knowledge of German to carry him comfortably through the realm of the Habsburgs will have some surprises. It is stated that it is better for a stranger to address the middle and lower class people in French or English first, not with the expectation of being understood, but as a passport to favour, after which he may get the desired information in German. Although this is mainly the result of a policy of Magyarisation, there is an element at work in producing it which is more than mere State policy or compulsion. It is agreed by many foreigners living in Hungary that there is a contagion about the nationalist aspiration which is almost irresistible. In no country in the world are there to be seen so many divers races making one (despite local jealousies) in their support of

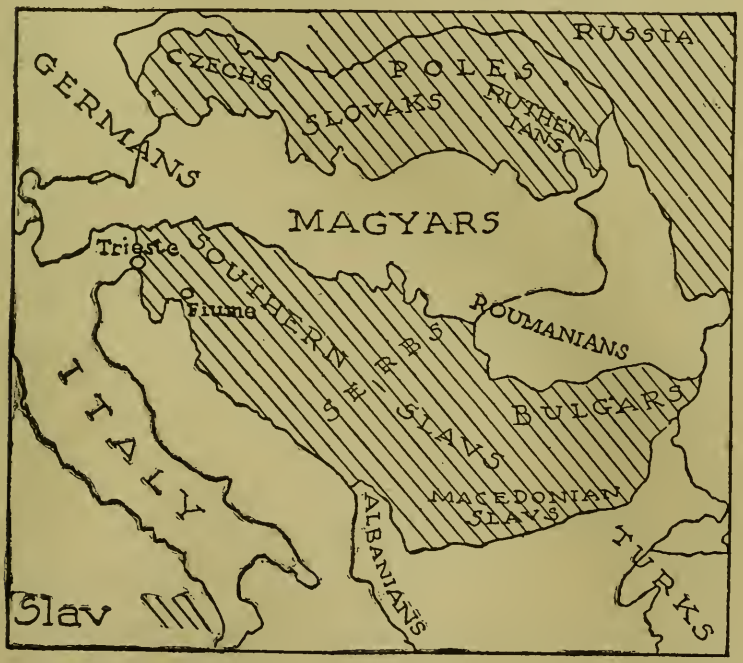
Hungarian national tradition, and all are as vehement in their advocacy of Hungarian independence as the Magyars themselves. Jews and Germans swell with patriotic pride over their " ancient constitution," and more than one instance could be cited of Hungarian patriots (some well known as the exponents of the Magyars to Europe) who have not one drop of Magyar blood.

The contagion, the attraction, are in the Magyar people themselves, and surely in this magic quality lies the secret of their success. The magnetic force they exercise is doing work which mere coercion or manœuvring could not accomplish. Elements of weakness, of unevenness, and of danger there are, but the core of the matter, the character of the true Magyar, is not only sound, but is displaying that most valuable and intangible of qualities—the power of attraction and assimilation.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SLAVS

A GLANCE at the tables (both in the text and in the appendix) which give the relative proportions of the various races will show that the Dual Monarchy is not



SLAVS OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND THE BALKANS

predominantly either German or Magyar in population but Slav. The Slavs are more numerous than the Mag-

yars and Germans together (over twenty-two millions against twenty), and, if we take Austria and Hungary separately, we find that in the former the Slavs are three-fifths and the Germans one-third, while in the latter the Slavs are one-quarter and the Germans one-tenth, of the total population. Notwithstanding this numerical preponderance the Slavs are not the ruling race, and great as their influence must be they are handicapped by the extent to which they are broken up. Only two sections of the race can lay claim to distinctive nationality and historic rights, all the others being merely scattered fragments of races, detached portions of ancient kingdoms, conquered or annexed by alien peoples and living under foreign rule.

The Czechs of Bohemia and the Serbo-Croats of Croatia-Slavonia form the two exceptions, and though it is not possible to put them quite in the same category, it is sufficiently correct for the purpose of generalisation to say that these two races and countries are both ancient, independent kingdoms, annexed, the first to the Habsburg crown, the second to the kingdom of Hungary, but retaining their sense of historic independence and a rising sentiment of nationality. Bohemia is part of Austria, Croatia of Hungary; both must give allegiance to a government which is foreign in speech to them; both are fighting for their own language in schools and administration; both have a very considerable degree of autonomy. Having given the main outlines of their position in common we must now look a little closer at each country separately.

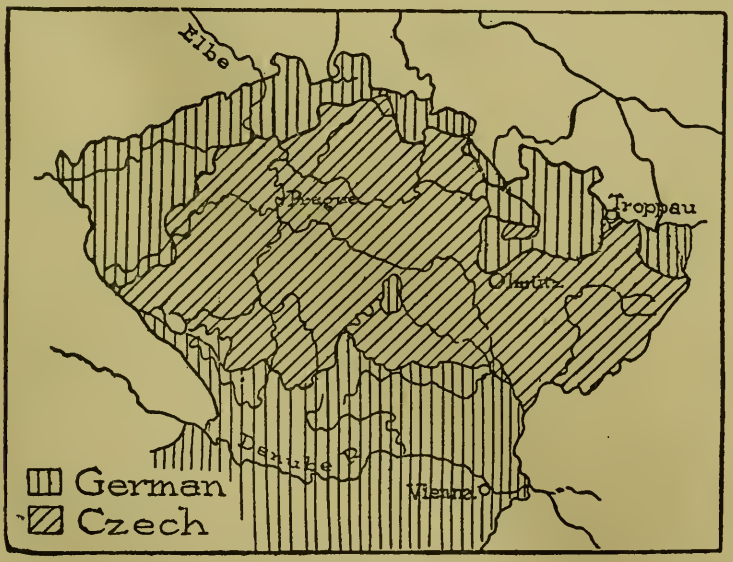
We have already traced the outline of that fascinating story in which Bohemia plays so great a part. There is

no chapter in history more romantic or fuller of heroic figures and exploits. We have seen Bohemia rise to the predominant position in Europe under the Luxembourg emperor who was her king. We have seen her capital, Prague, the first city of the empire, famous for its learning and beauty. We have seen at a later period the heroic warfare for religious and national rights which turned the country into an armed camp. Indeed, the exploits of the Czechs as fighters somewhat give the lie to the theory of the peaceful disposition of the Slav. If peaceful, he is at least tenacious and obstinate, and the whole history of this long submerged race, now rising again in various parts and by devious ways—but steadily rising all the same—shows that it is one of the races of the future. And among the Slav peoples, the Czechs are pre-eminent. Since the beginning of her history Bohemia has struggled against Teutonic influence, and for a time it seemed that she had struggled in vain. The process of Teutonisation was insidious. The agricultural Slav could not hold his own economically against the Germans, and with the rise of the cities during the Middle Ages, protected and fostered by the Emperor as a check on his feudal lords, the Germans increased in prosperity and influence while the peasant Slavs sank to serfdom. Then came the religious persecutions of the Habsburgs, in which the Bohemian Protestant nobles lost their lands, and the unsuccessful rebellion, after which twenty-seven of the Czech noble leaders were put to death; and so we come to a period in which there were in Bohemia (for a time at all events) German (or other alien) nobles, German cities and trad-

ers, and only the miserable serfs to represent the Czech people. It is not wonderful that, under such circumstances, the spark of national life nearly flickered out. German was spoken throughout the country and the only remains of its constitutional independence was the meeting of the Estates to vote taxation, a privilege of which they had never been formally deprived.

The first impulse towards renascence came, in Bohemia as in Hungary, from a literary revival, and in many respects this was more natural and possible for the Czechs than for the Magyars, for Bohemia possessed a genuine national literature, one of the earliest in Europe to be written in a vulgar tongue. The works of John Huss have already been mentioned, and English-speaking readers will be interested to trace the similarity in the work done by Wyckliffe's translation of the Bible in laying the foundations of the literary form of our language, and that of Huss in purifying Bohemian from Latinisms and putting it on a new footing as a cultivated tongue. In each case it was the revolt of what was indigenous, the language of the soil, against an arbitrary foreign tongue, imposed chiefly through the medium of the churchmen who were the teachers and writers (and also the politicians) of the day. Huss secured a temporary triumph for his own language at the Prague university, which had been originally intended to be equally German and Slav, and his action illustrates the difficulty of securing permanence for any system of equal rights to two conflicting races and languages. One or other must prevail. The swing of the pendulum made the university a Jesuit college in

the seventeenth century, and the Czech language was nearly forgotten, but the traditions remained, and in the early part of the nineteenth century the troubling of the waters throughout Europe sent currents of feeling to Bohemia which manifested themselves in the renewed interest of the Czechs in their ancient language and literature. There is a story, believed to be true, though there



BOHEMIA

are different versions of it, that a company of Czech patriots and savants in the early years of the nineteenth century met together in a coffee house in Prague and talked of their country, its ancient language and literature. Then one of them, probably Jungmann, said: "If this roof were to fall in on us Czech literature would perish with us!" So feeble was the flame, so widespread the influence

by which the Germans had apparently stamped their own individuality over the country of Bohemia.

A century later we find the Czech language spoken all over the country, and there are 752 newspapers and periodicals. Besides the Czech National University founded in 1882 (it has three times as many students as the German University), there is a National Museum (1885), with the Pantheon in the centre for national festivals, and a National Theatre. Czech is granted equal rights with German in schools, but the progress of the national language may be judged from the fact that whereas in the German schools (where German children predominate) one out of every eight speaks Czech, in the Czech schools only one in forty-seven speaks German. The percentage of illiteracy among the Bohemians is much lower than among any other peoples in the Austrian lands, so that the educational test is a good one. The census shews that an increasing number of people of German origin enter themselves as Czechs, and testimony to this is found in the names over shops. Prague, once so German, is now intensely Czech. One can hardly get an answer to a question in German, and apart from these obvious signs it becomes evident to all who make any study of modern Bohemian life that the native tongue is a living one and that it is the medium through which not only daily life but every branch of study, art, science and literature is being pursued. The effort to raise it to the position of a *Kultur Sprache* has been so successful, even in the teeth of the position held by the great German language, that it has actually invaded middle and high-class education in

Vienna. The Slavicising of the names of places, rivers, streets, etc., is almost a minor detail in this campaign. In many cases this merely involves restoring the original names, as the nomenclature of Central Europe was almost all of Slavic origin.

The work done in the century which has seen so wonderful a change for the Czechs has been mostly accomplished since 1866. At that date, by the treaty between Austria and Prussia, Bohemia (together with all the Austrian lands) ceased forever to form part of a Germanic empire. The federation of Germanic states which was formed, and which was to develop in a few years into the German empire, excluded the territories of the House of Habsburg, and thenceforth German influence has been a declining factor in Bohemian development. This change would not, however, have been so favourable to the renascence of the Czechs had not their national party succeeded by this time in establishing a constitutional position. Political manœuvres took the place of open rebellion, which in 1848 had proved abortive and had ended in firm repression. These political manœuvres are not to be described here, only their results, and of these the most remarkable is certainly the gradual winning back by the Czechs of their liberty as to language. At present the attitude in principle is that the Germans and Czechs, constituting two separate nations, enjoy equal rights in Bohemia, with the exception of the fact that the central administration is German in language. The Czechs still contend that their language should be compulsory even for the officials of this department in Bohemia, nor is there

any sign that they will be contented with lesser privileges. They form seventy per cent. of the population, concentrated for the most part in Central and South Bohemia and in certain districts of Moravia, and Prague is now over five-sixths Czech. The basis of electoral representation at present favours the German minority, and the Czechs have been engaged in a fight to secure universal suffrage, which has recently been promised, and, if properly carried through, will throw a far greater balance of power into Czech hands.

The Slavic character of the Czechs has undoubtedly been modified by the long intercourse with Germany, although they, like the Hungarians, do not care to admit this as freely as they might. The result in Bohemia has been to produce a race strongly differentiated from other branches of the Slavs. The Czechs are universally said to be industrious, hard-working, thrifty, intelligent and pushing. The latter quality is essentially non-Slavic, and it is extraordinarly developed in the Czechs. Possibly the rigour of the fight through which they have come has helped to strengthen their character.

The artistic qualities so early developed in Bohemia, and still maintained in their manufactures (the beautiful peasant costumes surviving in many regions are relics of native art), form the subject for debate, since it is hard to decide how far they were due to Teutonic influence or how much the Germans borrowed from their Czech neighbours. The broad general impression given by all the Slav races, however, is that they are peculiarly sensitive to beauty of form, sound, or colour, and this natural capacity has helped

BOHEMIA, PEASANT TYPE

BOHEMIAN PEASANT FÊTE-DRESS

BOHEMIA, PEASANT TYPE

the Czech to become at once an artist and a craftsman. The high degree of civilisation to which the country attained at an early period of her history gave room for the development of taste and skill, and, as one of the first cities of Europe, mediæval Prague drew artists from distant parts of the world whose influence was felt in her architecture and decoration. Unfortunately at a later period Prague was again and again the scene of conflict, and her artistic treasures were ransacked and her buildings destroyed, but she remains still one of the most interesting of European cities, with many ancient buildings saturated with historic associations. Perhaps no city of Europe is so rich in ancient legend and historic interest. Lovers of the antique can gaze at the castle of Vysehrad and wonder which of the stones used in it were originally part of the castle of Libussa, traditional foundress of the Bohemian dynasty. The castle of later rulers still stands sentinel over the town, a grand romantic pile, built at different periods, and recording in every carved stone some chapter in the stormy history of the Czech people. The Imperial palace, dating from the golden age of Bohemia, the reign of the Emperor Charles in the fourteenth century (but also restored and enlarged in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries), contains also many historic spots, notably the room in the old town hall whence the Imperial counsellors were thrown from the window by the Bohemians in 1618. Then there is the splendid bridge of Charles IV., begun in the fourteenth century, and, with a wide transition to a different type of monument, there is the Jewish cemetery, the oldest burying place of the Jews in Europe. Apart

from all these interesting antiquities, however, Prague has a flavour of its own, a distinction well conveyed in a passage by a French writer (M. Ernest Denis):

"Florence, like a painting of Botticelli, is elegant and delicate. Venice is voluptuous and magnificent as a painting of Titian. Paris is charming, and pleases the stranger because there everything breathes a smiling charm and the desire to please. Vienna is joyous and sparkling like an operette of Offenbach, . . . Bruges and Ratisbon have the melancholy grandeur of ruins—Prague is tragical. Every one of its stones recalls an heroic drama."

Nevertheless, Prague does not live any longer in the past, but has embarked on a new career as a modern city. The modern town is a manufacturing one, and, as we shall see subsequently, Bohemia is one of the most industrial countries of Europe.

Prague has become, by virtue of the genius of the Czechs, one of the musical centres of Europe, for they are in the front rank as musicians, both in creation and execution. The religious body of the Bohemian Brothers, which played so large a part in Czech national history, encouraged music in their services, and the choral singing of the Czechs was a feature of their religious worship. The influence of other countries, especially during the eighteenth century, when the pre-eminent genius of Mozart and Beethoven could not fail to affect the musical thought of all Europe, has detracted from the purely Slav character of Bohemian music, but the revival of interest in national traditions began to make itself felt in the middle of last century, and a school arose which went back to folk songs

CHARLES IV BRIDGE, PRAGUE

MARKET PLACE, PRAGUE

and national dances as their musical inspiration. The best known Bohemian composers of this school are Dvorak and Smetaùd, who have familiarised the English and American public with the rhythms and strange harmonic effects peculiar to Slav music. It is hardly necessary to say that other and greater composers, particularly the Pole, Chopin, have borrowed freely from this source, but to do anything like justice to the influence of Slav folk songs on modern music would be impossible in the scope of this sketch of one phase of Slav development. Many names familiar to modern music-lovers belong to the Czech people. The two most famous modern professors of the violin are Sevcik and Kocian, and the world-renowned Kubelik is the son of a Czech peasant. It may interest lovers of grand opera to know that the great singer Ternina, though not a Czech, is of Slav origin, being a Slovene born at Agram in Croatia.

Interesting and romantic as are the associations awakened by the old city of Prague and its ancient buildings, it is in the modern industrial city that we must look for the key to the situation of Bohemia. We have spoken of the renascence of the Czech language and national tradition and of the transformation by which the whole life of the country has been changed, and we have said that the first impulse was given by the revival of literary and historic associations which were used to stir up a long dormant sense of national independence. But this stimulus in itself could not have been sufficient for the work accomplished. It was not even so powerful an agent in Bohemia as in Hungary, for the conditions of life in the former country

were peculiarly unfavourable to any sentimental influences. The Czechs, as we have seen already, were originally a pastoral and agricultural people, living on the land, to which during the feudal period they became attached by ties not of ownership, but of serfdom. The industrial and commercial life of the country was almost entirely in German hands. It happened that the crisis of the national movement came at the very eve of the industrial awakening of Europe, and the Czech patriots were faced by the fact that their future as an industrial country lay in German hands. The Czech nation (or rather that section of the Czech people which had not been entirely denationalised), was composed chiefly of the stratum of society including the rural population, small artisans, domestics and workmen—not promising material for a great national movement. But although the nobility contains comparatively few families of pure Czech origin, this has not prevented the rise of a genuine nationalist feeling among them. The literary and historic campaign had done its work in creating an enthusiasm for Czech ideals among the educated upper class. The arrangement of society was abnormal, for between the two classes of Czechs came the well-to-do middle class of Germans, and in their hands lay most of the industrial interests of the country. Moreover, towards the middle of last century those German districts which, situated in the mountainous country fringing Bohemia, had been miserably poor and struggling, were by mechanical inventions (especially the utilisation of water power) able rapidly to improve their position. The fight appeared a very unequal one.

In 1848 the reforms effected in the position of the peasants freed them from the last remains of the feudal system and made possible the revolution in their position which followed. Already, as early as 1770, a national movement for the improvement of agriculture (promoted by the Bohemian nobility, especially such families as the Bucquoi, Gallas and Clary, which are not of Czech origin) had led to the formation of a society which endeavoured to improve the time-honoured methods of peasant cultivation. The rotation of crops, intensive culture, and other modern ideas were developed on the large estates, and the work done, though not immediately productive, was preparing the soil for future developments. The Czech patriots saw that the only chance for the recreation of a Czech nation was to enable their people to take part in the industrial evolution then beginning. The Czech had always been a hard and careful worker; he had now to be made something more, in order that he might rise in importance and become the mainstay of the industries of the country by his talent and capacity. It was a conflict between capital and talent, made harder for the Czechs by the fact that, while brains were their only equipment, the Germans often possessed both brains and money. The nobility again came forward as initiators of this industrial movement, though the factories they started were gradually (with some exceptions) absorbed by companies or private persons, the latter being almost invariably Jews. In the improvement of the economic position of the Czech peasantry a most important factor was the establishment of mutual credit co-operative societies, on the Schulitz-

Delitsch model. The first of these was founded in 1858, and thirty years later there were no fewer than four hundred in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, and actually one (for Czech workmen) in Vienna. In five years from this date these numbers had increased by over fifty per cent., many developing into banks which are able to lend money for large industrial enterprises. Even the financial crisis of 1873 (which shook the economic position of Austria to its foundations), while it retarded the development of these societies, did not seriously damage them. A less successful movement was initiated about 1870 for the association of workmen and artisans in various ways; the movement being akin to that attempted in England for the establishment of co-operative workshops, in which the principles of mutual benefit and profit sharing are embodied. For a variety of reasons these have not been very successful in Bohemia.

It was not until after 1867 that Bohemia was able to expand her educational system in a manner favourable to the industrial progress of her people, but at the present time this branch of education is developed with great completeness. Technical schools and institutes have been established in every part of the kingdom and great assistance is given to all secondary courses. For instance, at Turnov a complete course in every branch of applied art or science can be had gratuitously, the town and state sharing not only the cost of this training, but also of giving aid to needy students while pursuing their studies. It may be noted here that Bohemia has not yet found sufficient scope for the number of her people who acquire higher educa-

CHODS: PEASANTS FROM WEST BOHEMIA

CHODS: PEASANTS FROM WEST BOHEMIA

tion. Before the Czech university was founded at Prague, Czech professors were employed in the Slav schools and universities of Croatia, Russia, and other Slav countries, and a large number of the secondary school masters are still employed in Russia and Bulgaria.

To return to the task of the Czech patriots in the middle of last century. It was well that they perceived the fact that in the creation of new industries, even more than in the invasion of those already flourishing in German hands, lay the path of salvation, and fortunately the epoch was favourable to fresh developments. The high intelligence and advanced education of the younger Czechs were demonstrated in their achievements as chemists, mechanical engineers, and inventors, and the talents which had been used formerly in the service of other people were now engaged in evolving new forms of industry specially suited to the conditions of Bohemia. The beet sugar industry owed its inception to this combination of science and patriotism, and the impetus given to this production in 1860 by the American civil war carried it forward on a wave of prosperity in which several other manufactures were included. The establishment of distilleries and of a variety of factories in which sugar is a raw material, and also the manufacture of machinery, were the direct outcome of the success of the beet sugar industry. Nothing was more effectual in accomplishing the change of the Czechs from an agricultural into an industrial people and in giving their prosperity a national foundation apart from German enterprise.

While German capital and enterprise continues to hold

its own, therefore, the Czechs have secured their position. As workmen they are sought after by employers of labour, and this not only in their own country, but in Austria, Germany, and the United States. An estimate of the numbers to be found in the United States and the high state of their education can be formed from the fact that there are no fewer than seventy Czech papers published in America. The migration of the Czech workman is chiefly in search of higher wages, and it is estimated that a very considerable percentage of the workmen in Austria come from Bohemia. Unfortunately the racial question, complicated by the influence of socialism, leads to many serious disputes between employers and workmen and even to race conflicts among the workers themselves.

The influence of socialism on this newly created Czech industrial proletariat is hard to estimate, since the whole development of socialism in every part of the world is wholly erratic and in Bohemia is unusually affected by extraneous circumstances. There is a nationalist socialist party and a Catholic socialist party (the latter of course anti-Semite), but the growing influence of socialism is in the direction of internationalism; the patriotic ideals and self-abnegation of the period just past are giving way to a programme in which social reforms and the revolt against class government are the salient features. In dealing with the problems of unemployment, pauperism and provision for old age, which are always pressing ones in an industrial country, Bohemia is following a line laid down in more than one of the European countries, but not yet recognised in England or America. The principle is that the State

must find work for its citizens and that vagrancy and begging must not be permitted. In practice, a very complete system of labour bureaus is maintained and special public works are undertaken to provide employment. Needless to say this method of dealing with one of the invariable phenomena of industrial growth is still on its trial.

As to the social system of the reconstituted Czech nation, it does not differ outwardly from that of neighbouring German states. There is a nobility, very largely of foreign origin (though Bohemian in sympathies), which owns a considerable percentage of the country. One family, for instance, the Schwartzenbergs, owns 600,000 acres.[1] Moreover, the Jews are acquiring land in Bohemia at a rate which is causing some disquietude. The process is one which, by the humbleness of its methods, attracts little notice at first, but which is, in fact, at work in more than one country and more than one continent. Were the Jews not so peculiar a people, were it possible to assimilate them or to break down the barriers which separate them in so many ways from other races, this acquisition of land by them would not be of any consequence as a social pheonomenon. It is, however, the more remarkable because the Jew is not generally supposed to suffer from land hunger. The process is simple. A Jewish pedlar appears one morning in some hamlet; bye and bye, by the exercise of the habits of frugality and industry and by the special commercial talents of his race, he saves a little money, gets a liquor license (somehow or another), and begins to lend

[1] The chief landowning families are the Schwarzenbergs, Lichtensteins, Lobkovics, Schönborns and Thuns, who between them own 7.59 per cent. of the total area of Bohemia.

money to the peasant on his crops. This advances to a system of mortgages on future crops, and the debt piles up until the wretched peasant is a mere serf. In some parts of Austria and Bohemia whole villages have passed in this way from their peasant owners to the landlordship of a Jew. This system is to be studied in its most advanced state in Galicia, where it is aggravated by the habit of the Polish nobility of employing Jewish factors or stewards on their estates. The Jew, as middleman, forces the hands of his employers by putting them under monetary obligations and is in reality the master of the situation. So grave is the state of affairs produced that agrarian revolution is continually menaced, and there seems reason to believe that in many parts of Central and Eastern Europe we are already over the threshold of one of those periodical waves of irresistible anti-Semitism which at various times have almost overwhelmed this irrepressible race. The granting of universal suffrage in Austria-Hungary is very likely to precipitate matters by throwing power (for the first time) into the hands of the people who are most injured by the Jewish predominance. It is impossible here to explain how the Jewish question is differentiated in the various sections of the Dual Monarchy by special social or economic conditions. But the situation is broadly the same in all these countries, and is distinguished from that in England or America by the fact that, whereas with us the Jews are confined to two classes—the lowest industrial and the wealthy commercial—and do not buy up the land to any appreciable extent, on the continent of Europe they are obtaining a position which menaces the freedom of the

A BOHEMIAN LANDSCAPE

THE WAYSIDE SHRINE, BOHEMIAN *OBERLAND*

agricultural and industrial proletariat. They are enabled to do this by means of special qualities of brain and character which give them an advantage, but they have also been favoured hitherto by the impotence of these classes (in Austria-Hungary and Russia especially) to protect their own interests. In Bohemia, for instance, the electoral franchise gives the land owners and capitalist class (through various channels) an entire control of legislation, and, moreover, the position of the Jews as the bankers and capitalists gives them a leverage which they are not slow to employ through the medium of the press and political parties. Where they are unable to buy land they lease it from the owners of large estates (sometimes the church) but the tendency now observable in Bohemia to break up the large estates (which are not in "fidei-commisso"—that is entailed) gives them opportunities for acquiring a more permanent footing.

It will be seen that Bohemia is a country full of vital interests. In natural beauty she may claim comparison with any other country in Europe, for her mountains, pine-woods, forests, valleys, rivers and lakes are not only beautiful, but give every variety of landscape. Historically, too, she yields to none; her quaint towns and mediæval castles are a delight for the antiquarian, and the costumes and customs of a more picturesque era linger in her villages. But for the student of political and social problems she offers an equally rich field, and it is impossible in this brief sketch to do more than indicate the special features which have made the Czech renascence remarkable.

Among the northern Slavs of Austria-Hungary must be reckoned the Poles and Ruthenians of Galicia, which is a crown-land of Austria. Something has already been said of the conditions in Galicia, where six and a half millions of the population are Little Russian or Ruthenian peasants and Polish nobles, and the remaining million are three-fourths Jews and one-fourth Germans. The Jewish question is assuming formidable proportions. Originally the land was held communally by the peasants after Slav custom, but after the Polish occupation they lost it, and their condition to-day between alien (and often impoverished) landlords and the Jewish middleman is intensely miserable. At the same time there is great poverty and distress among the Jewish population itself, and despite the constant stream of emigration the condition of the Galician Jew probably shews the low water mark reached by the race in Europe. An attempt is being made to assist the peasants by promoting the home industries—embroidery, lace, woodwork, basket-making—many of which are interesting and picturesque; but the poverty of the poorer and the lack of a real progressive element in the upper classes makes Galicia one of the most backward countries in Europe. The percentage of illiteracy is no less than sixty-eight per cent., including a very highly educated noble class, and this is the more deplorable because Galicia, as a province of Poland, had a very early civilisation and a history full of romance and patriotism. Cracow, the capital, is a city of memories of past greatness, full of ancient palaces, time-worn monuments of a heroic past. The Poles, as is well known, displayed great qualities as fighters

THE CZARTORYSKI MUSEUM, CRACOW

THE ROTUNDA, CRACOW

and patriots in their struggles against the Turks, and their religious convictions continue to be a powerful influence in the country. Unfortunately the racial division between Poles and Ruthenians is accentuated by the fact that they belong to rival churches, the former being Roman Catholics and the latter Orthodox.

Owing to the electoral system which prevails, the Poles control the legislation, for the Ruthenians, who form three-sevenths of the population, only send seventeen out of 161 members to the local Diet, and are hardly represented at all in the Reichsrath. Owing to the oneness of their aims, and the disunion of the Germans and Czechs, the Polish representatives in the Reichsrath, acting as a compact body, have been able to dictate terms to the Government, which has had to purchase their support by wholesale concessions. The Polish provinces therefore enjoy very considerable autonomy under an Austrian governor and an independent Diet, which, however, they use in the manner to which the history of Poland is a witness. Maladministration of the grossest character, mutual jealousies and dissensions in the local Diet, and oppression of the peasant class are characteristics of Polish rule which are no novelty. At the same time the Poles continue to maintain their old pre-eminence in the brilliance of their literary and artistic achievements, and in the Polish provinces of Austria the attempts at Germanisation have proved futile, the tide having turned in the opposite direction. Polish, which is closely allied to Czech and the Lusatian Wendisch, is the language of the administration as well as the schools. There are two universities, at Lemberg and

Cracow, and it is said that their students, though not numerous, are very highly cultivated, and draw their inspirations now, as in the past, from French rather than from German sources. The most celebrated writer (from Austrian-Polish soil) is Henri Sienkiewicz, whose reputation is international, but there have been many others, such as Mickiewicz and others of the so-called "emigration school," whose headquarters were in Paris. The predominant note in the later literature is rather that of the mordant French school than the robust romance of Sienkiewicz, but the imaginative, dreamy and somewhat fatalistic strain is common to all writers of Slav blood. It is necessary to remember, in criticising Austrian rule in Galicia and the backward condition of that country (criticisms which apply equally to Bukowina), that this region belongs geographically as well as racially to the Russian empire. It forms part of a high terrace on the north side of the Carpathians sloping to the Russian plains, the climate is rigorous, and the conditions of life are dissimilar to those of Central Europe, to which politically it has been attached.

Another of the many races of the Dual Monarchy found in the northwest of Hungary and in the east and south of Moravia are the Slovaks. They are not in reality a distinct race, being the remains of those Moravian peoples who were long ago conquered by Hungary. Their language is fundamentally the same as the Czech, or rather is probably an older form of the original Slav language. The Slovaks are a poor, industrious but slow and ignorant people, retaining with some tenacity their ancient forms

HANACKA; FROM CENTRAL MORAVIA

SLOVAKS; FROM EAST MORAVIA

of speech, their customs and costumes. They are largely employed as agricultural labourers.[2]

The Southern Slavs are divided into Slovenes, Croats or Serbo-Croats, and Servians. The first of these, found chiefly in Lower Austria and Styria, and forming practically the whole population of Carinthia, are the remains of the original Slav population of Central Europe, who for six centuries have been subjected to a steady process of Germanisation by their rulers. There was no centre among these people for a nationalist propaganda, belonging as they did for a long period to different Teutonic governments which were only finally united under the Habsburgs. Nor has the religious question played a great part. Protestantism made some converts and, as we have mentioned already, the Styrian nobility actually lost their lands *en masse* because of their adherence to the Reformed religion. But the steady orthodoxy of their rulers has made most of the Slovenes Roman Catholics, though side by side with the Latin communion the Greek church has its adherents among the Serbo-Croats and Servians.

Croatia-Slavonia is the second of the two sections inhabited by a Slav race in Austria-Hungary which has a genuine national existence. Originally it was an independent and powerful Slav State, but was united to Hungary in 1090. From 1769 till 1799 Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia were united as the kingdom of Illyria, but after the break up of the Napoleonic empire Croatia-Slavonia was restored to a position of dependency on Hungary. From 1848 to 1868 the country enjoyed a practical inde-

[2] A further account of the Slovaks will be found in Chapter XIII.

pendence, for services to Austria in the period of revolution, but in the settlement of the Ausgleich it was once more handed back to Hungary and remained a province of that kingdom.

The population is pure Slav, the language is Serbo-Croatian (practically the same as Servian with merely a difference as of dialects) the religion chiefly Roman Catholic, the Greek church claiming only thirty per cent. Here among these Serbo-Croatians we find the legacy of an ancient dispute between the Eastern and Western churches, and this has been a disintegrating influence unfavourable to true national unity. The Servians who form part of the population represent emigrations from the old Servian kingdom at the time when it was conquered by the Turks, and consequently a close affinity exists between Croatia and Servia. But the influence of the Roman Catholic church, which accomplished the conversion of this part of the country, has been exerted to prevent the predominance of the Servian element and consequently that of the Greek church. The written character used is either Cyrillic or Latin, both being printed side by side in the grammars, but Latin is no longer used as a spoken language, as it was until about 1860. After that time it was temporarily superseded by German, but when, in the settlement of 1868, Croatia was finally placed under Hungarian control, German ceased altogether to be spoken save by the higher officials and merchants. The Hungarians began with the attempt to make Magyar the language of official and social life, but the sense of the country and the local autonomy which it has always enjoyed make this difficult of accomplishment.

The historic rights claimed by Croatia-Slavonia are in fact a replica, on a smaller scale, of those successfully asserted in the Ausgleich by Hungary. The Croats are proud that they were never conquered by the Turks, and they have always had their own governor or *Ban* (who is, however, a Hungarian noble), their national Diet, and a very considerable local autonomy. They send forty delegates to the Hungarian parliament, but this is not in proportion to their numbers, and the balance will undoubtedly be altered by any scheme of suffrage reform that may be passed for the Dual Monarchy. The elections are, as a matter of fact, often rather of a farcical character. The voter is told to come to the polling booth at a certain time and then he will be shewn what to do. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether such an ignorant peasantry would really be well served at present by a scheme of universal suffrage or whether it would not be a weapon for the unscrupulous. In any case the conditions of life in Croatia are at present unfavourable to any rapid rise in the condition of the peasantry. They are in many ways attractive, unspoilt, and ingenuous. Physically they are fine, tall, strong and clean-looking people, with steel-blue eyes and straight fair hair. The influence of the East is strongly noticeable in their white clothes, loosely fashioned and decorated with elaborate embroidery. Perhaps no other country of Europe has such beautiful peasant costumes, on which a wealth of stitchery has been expended to give beauty and value to the commonest fabrics.

The old capital of the country, still its most important

city, is Agram, which is not so interesting to the antiquarian as its history leads one to expect, because it was partly destroyed by an earthquake in 1880 and has since been rebuilt. A fine specimen of a real Croatian house (very similar to the Czech architecture) is to be seen at a Government model farm near Agram. The ornamental gables, the carvings, the heavy wooden furniture, the characteristic fenced-in compound with a roofed entrance (like the English lych-gate) are all comfortable adaptations of the old style. In the neighbourhood may be seen communal houses, still inhabited by several families, but the ancient Slav custom of communal buildings to accommodate the whole village is now almost unknown, though the communistic tenure of land is still usual. On the outskirts of Croatia-Slavonia was that original strategic frontier which was held by military colonies which were in every way communistic, and lived in large houses common to all.

Market-day at Agram is a most picturesque sight, gay with coloured embroideries on white garments, with bright shoes and rugs and the almost Eastern paraphernalia of open-air booths. The life of many of these peasants is poor and hard, and it is even said that in their houses some of the women wear nothing above their waists. But the Croat woman has a good reputation notwithstanding, and the hard life is said to produce in both sexes the virtues of patience, industry, and chastity. The men are honest, good-natured, and hardworking, and on this account have a good reputation as workmen, which they take with them to America.

A CROATIAN WOMAN

CROATIAN PEASANTS

There is a very small class of Croat aristocracy, for a great proportion of the original noble class have been dispossessed or wiped out in the course of Croatian history. The military and officials form "Society," and the ambition of parents who can afford it is to get their sons into this class or to marry their daughters to a member of it. The pay of officials is very small and the career for a promising young man a poor one, while the life is monotonous and trifling. Small wonder that the volume of Croat migration is so large and is by no means confined to the poorest class. There are at present about 270,000 Croats in the United States, and, curiously enough, they go chiefly to Pennsylvania, where they take well to the work in coal-mines or factories at Pittsburgh. They are lost forever to their country, for after the high wages and increased standard of living they can never return to the hard life of agricultural toil which the conditions of Croatia demand. The Croat country is in some ways a poor one, generally mountainous and inaccessible (the Hungarian railway-system has not yet embraced it), bare and unbeautiful, judged by conventional standards.

But the Croatians are a people of the soil—it is their mother, though a hard one—they have grit and backbone, and a tradition which they proudly cherish. They had a very high degree of culture in the sixteenth century, when their students were well known in the universities of Padua and Pisa. They have now their own elementary schools and, although the exigencies of life under a foreign government make it difficult for them to preserve their

national distinction in secondary and higher education, yet the sentiment of Croatian patriotism is a living and growing force and will not be denied. The language question will not be conceded by Hungary to an extent that will impair her sovereign rights, nor will she cease to work for the recognition, by all her subjects, of Hungarian nationality as opposed to the conflict of races. But even within these limits the Croatians may, with tact and forbearance on the part of their leaders, accomplish a renascence of their people.

There is, of course, a party which demands the entire independence of Croatia, but they forget the weakness of their position from the geographical point of view, Although Croatia-Slavonia retains Fiume and a strip of coast within her boundaries (this being a concession to Hungary's demand for a port), Austria owns Dalmatia and the islands that fringe the coast. Moreover, by the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina a wedge was driven between Croatia-Slavonia and Servia, and Novi-Bazaar (Turkish territory with an Austrian garrison) still further divides the Slav countries. The possibility of independent development for a country so poor as Croatia, and so completely hemmed in by political adversaries, would not be very great, and the best possible course for the Croats is to endeavour to emulate the Czechs by improving the conditions and prospects of life among their peasants.

These, then, are the principal features, the main problems, which characterise the Slav races of Austria-Hungary. Each section is differentiated in some degree from the others, but it is possible to give, in a rough generalisation,

TWO LITTLE CROATIANS IN NATIONAL DRESS

some of the salient characteristics which distinguish the Slav races from the Teutons and Magyars.

Physically the Slavs are not marked out in any special manner. Education and convention may make them almost indistinguishable from the Teutonic races, but in the depths of their natures they have something hidden which makes them unlike any other European peoples. Perhaps this element may be best described as unreason. The Slav does not possess his own soul with the complacent, philosophic self-knowledge which comes to the Teuton; he is not even able to make a pose for himself behind which he can shelter his real *ego,* like the Latin. He is sensitive to an intense and painful degree, emotional, and inflicted with the artistic temperament to an excess. The last quality militates against his being truthful. He is essentially and unconsciously untruthful—a moral defect conquered in certain sections of the race by their education, but remaining in others in colossal proportions. The Slav is always spoken of as a fatalist and this is undoubtedly the trend of his mind, but it is varied by an almost childish optimism. The peasantry of Slav origin, like most agricultural people, are subtle and cunning despite their simplicity. They have a worldly wisdom all their own and a philosophy of life as well. The tendency of the educated classes is to overdo their learning. They are apt to get top-heavy with their own brains, and their linguistic achievements tempt them to more reading than they can digest.

The alternation of high spirits and despondency so well illustrated in Slav folk-music is not peculiar to the

Slavs, but the Latin races (who have the appearance of being quite as emotional) do not touch the depths which the Slav is forced to plumb. Also they are not inflicted with one fatal drawback of Slav character, the distrust of self. Readers of Turgenieff's brilliant studies of Slav psychology will remember how finely he brings out all these qualities. The love of abstract theory, the eloquence and enthusiasm, the interminable stream of talk, the hot heads that cool so quickly, the tenderness, imagination, and confusion of ideas—all that goes to make up the lovable, unpractical, and yet subtle Slav, are summed up in the title of one of his books—"Smoke." But there is no smoke without fire, and the Czech renascence—yes, and the renascence of Servia and Bulgaria, too—is not all smoke. There is a pure flame burning. And Europe is richer, and not poorer, that the Slav peoples have relighted the torch of nationality.

HERZEGOVINA WOMAN IN HOLIDAY DRESS

CHAPTER IX

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AND DALMATIA

THE political status of Bosnia-Herzegovina is only intelligible by a reference to its geographical position. It will be seen that between the Dalmatian coast and the Save River, which is the southern boundary of the kingdom of Hungary, lies a wedge-shaped territory. This is still nominally the northwestern *vilayet* of the Ottoman empire, and owns the sovereignty of the Sultan; but since the Treaty of Berlin, in 1878, it has been occupied by an Austrian army and administered by the Dual Monarchy. Its position, therefore, resembles that of Egypt, and the Austrians claim for their first administrator, Baron Kallay, who governed the country for twenty years until his death a couple of years ago, a reputation equal to that of Lord Cromer. Kallay certainly accomplished a great deal in pacifying the country, and giving it some of the machinery of a modern civilised country. It is cut off from the rest of the Turkish provinces by Servia and Montenegro, between which is a narrow neck of land, the *sanjak* of Novi-Bazaar. The strategic importance of this region to both Austria and Turkey has led to an anomalous situation there, whereby Turkey still retains the civil administration while Austria occupies it with a militiary force.

The mountainous and picturesque country of Bosnia, with Herzegovina lying to the south and bordering Montenegro, is a very interesting region from many points of view. Its history is intimately linked with that of the other Balkan states, but has some peculiar features. Chief of these was the religious conviction of the majority of its people, high and low, in the period which preceded the Mohammedan conquest. They belonged to the Patarine sect, otherwise called Bogomile, which appears to have been one of a series of heretical religions which extended from Armenia to Aquitaine, and included the Albigenses on one extreme and the Paulicians on the other. Both Greek and Latin churches viewed this heresy with horror and considered it Manichœism. The Franciscans in particular worked hard to suppress it, and some of the Bosnian rulers became Catholics. The result was to hasten the fall of the country before the Turks, for the Bosnians made no secret that they regarded Islam as preferable to Catholicism, and in 1415 a number of them actually were Turcised and fought with the Turks against Hungary. The political and religious questions were then, as now, much interwoven. The Bosnian kings were feudatories of Hungary, and the country at present called Herzegovina was a vassal state under a duke,[1] who was faithful to the Bogomile tenets. After the death of John Hunyady of Hungary, in 1458, only one great leader remained to bulwark Christianity against the Turk, and this was the famous Albanian George Castriotes, known, be-

[1] The Emperor gave the voivode the title of Duke=Herzog; hence "Herzegovina," meaning "Duchy."

BOSNIA PEASANT HOUSE

BOGOMILE TOMB

cause of his Turkish upbringing, as Scanderbeg. While he lived, this corner of the Balkans was successfully defended from the Ottomans, and even on his death Montenegro kept one spot inviolate and one line of Slavonic princes free from Turkish yoke. But Servia had fallen in 1457, the catastrophe hastened by the dissatisfaction of the nobles with the interference by Catholic powers, which their ruler had sought for protection. It is said that, after 1458, 200,000 Servians were carried from the land, probably to be settled in other parts of the empire. Then came the turn of Bosnia, which (with Herzegovina) had attempted to secure immunity from attack by offering tribute. Again, the Bogomiles preferred the Turks to Catholic rulers, and the royal residence was betrayed by its defender, who secretly belonged to the national religion. Mohammed I. wished to be the absolute ruler of the Balkans, no mere suzerain of Christian states, and his policy was to exterminate the native rulers and princes, and to carry as many captives as possible to other parts of his dominions. The racial confusion of the Balkan peninsula, in which his decendants are now reaping such a harvest of difficulties, may partially be traced to this policy, but the immediate effect was to paralyse the national life of the country and render it amenable to Ottoman rule, which was not particularly oppressive. King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary tried to rescue Bosnia, and was temporarily successful, but only for a brief time. The country became definitely part of the Ottoman empire, and Herzegovina was added in 1483, by which time only two Slavonic powers in the Balkan peninsula retained

their freedom. These were the republic of Ragusa and the principality of Montenegro.

The close kinship between Bosnia and Servia—both part of one great Servian empire until that ill-consolidated state collapsed after the death of Stephen Dusan in 1356—gives a special interest to the modern history of the former country. Servia has regained national consciousness, and has emerged as a modern Christian state. Is such a renascence possible for Bosnia? The peasantry are still purely Slav in race, the Turkish element (even where the Slavs are Moslems) being clearly distinguishable. Their language is Serbo-Croat, albeit corrupted with Turkish words. But the impression gained from an observation of them is that, unlike the Servians, they have taken the stamp of Orientalism deep on their minds and hearts. The peculiar conditions under which they accepted the Turkish yoke, and the extent to which the Bogomiles embraced Islam, have had the effect of destroying their national and racial pride to a greater extent than has been the case in Servia. The dissension between the Christian churches here, as in other parts of the Balkan peninsula, stands in the way of a national and religious unity of purpose, and the line of cleavage between the different parties among the people is not so much racial or religious as sectional.

The portion of the community which is not Mohammedan is divided between the Latin and Greek churches, the former claiming about one-fifth, who are called Croats, and the latter, known as Servians, about one-half of the total population. The rivalry of the churches in the

SARAJEVO, BOSNIA, FROM THE NORTH

matter of " conversions " is keen and (as in other Balkan states) the same family may contain people nominally of two or three different races and religions.

The rocky and difficult nature of the country has helped to make it a battle-ground of the Turks and their European opponents for centuries, and it was only by the peace of Sistova, in 1791, that a period of repose was secured. When in 1878 the Turks agreed to military occupation by Austria the latter had to meet an obstinate resistance from the people, who in their mountain fastnesses were able to make a long defence, even against trained armies. Naturally a country so given over to warfare has remained backward in many elements of civilization, and even agriculture, which occupies nearly ninety per cent. of the people, is primitive in its methods.

Here again, as in Croatia, was an early civilisation, and there are interesting remains of the Roman occupation. The scenery as one travels from Ragusa to Mostar, and thence still north to Sarajevo, is some of the finest to be seen on any railway line in the world. The line runs along the beautiful and romantic valley of the Narenta, then over the pass of the Ivan-Planina (a fine piece of engineering), and so on through the mountains that form the watershed of the Adriatic to the capital of Bosnia—Sarajevo—with its glittering minarets and mosques and flat-roofed houses set in gardens, the whole backed by lofty ranges behind which the sun sets, casting long rays of gold and purple down the wooded slopes.

Here, as in Mostar, the Austrian occupation has put a thin veneer of Europe over the imperishable East. The

result is somewhat to accentuate the picturesqueness of the latter at the expense of the former, but one has to confess one's debt of comfort in the way of railways and hotels, however indifferent the latter may be.

The successors of the Turks have built barracks (possibly sanitary, but ugly and hot-looking), opened technical schools, introduced *cafés,* made experimental farms and constructed a variety of large and hideous Government offices, besides studding the country with forts. What they have accomplished in making roads and railways and in establishing a fine police force is the most admirable part of their work, but naturally the first two are not so much designed to develop the country as for strategic purposes. A railway, it may be mentioned, has recently been constructed from Sarajevo to the frontier of Novi-Bazaar.

Nor have the Austrians forgotten to attempt (at all events) educative work among the better class people. They have founded colleges for young *mullahs* and a law-seminary for the *kadis.* It is interesting to notice that the muftis of the mosques, who have always been appointed by the Sultan, must now (since 1882) be confirmed in their position by the Emperor of Austria.

The costumes of the peasants, like those of all the Slav races, are as varied as they are picturesque. There are different styles for each valley, and Oriental influence has produced many beautiful designs in embroidery and metal-work which are applied to dresses, carpets and utensils. The poverty of the people makes it difficult for them to indulge their natural taste, but the general effect of a

MOSTAR, CAPITAL OF HERZEGOVINA

gathering of peasants is gay and picturesque. Many, of course, wear the distinctive Turkish dress, and their women (in the towns at all events) are veiled, but among the Catholic and Orthodox the old Slav styles of costume and headdress survive. On a holiday or market-day one may see the "kolo," a national dance, danced by the Servians. The better class dance in a circle of their own, the ladies in evening dress, but the true dance is best seen among the peasants. Hand in hand, men and women move round in a circle, swaying to and fro, keeping up a monotonous chant and continuing this singular form of amusement literally for hours. It is curiously unlike the usual European conception of dancing.

A very interesting field of speculation is opened by the conditions of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where for the last quarter of a century European influence has been at work in a country originally European which has been for over four centuries under Moslem rule. The experiment is still young, but judging from the experience of other European administrators of Oriental countries, Austria's task is no easy one. The five and twenty years of Austrian occupation has not, in Sarajevo, the capital, done more than place a surface crust over the lives of the people. Even here one may turn out of one's modern hotel and in a few steps enter the bazaar—that labyrinth of lanes, flanked with wooden booths in front of stone buildings. Here is no trace of the West. The barber plies his trade; the shoemaker displays his peaked slippers of red or yellow and patches his customers' worn goods, spectacles on nose; the silver and copper smith has his little furnace and apparatus

of primitive simplicity; the tailor sits cross-legged on his bench, and the sweetmeat-seller greets one's nostrils with the odour of *ghee*, to be smelt a long way off. Most characteristic of all is the be-turbaned old greybeard, seated cross-legged before his door, smoking sedately and imperturbably his cigarette or long hookah and surveying the world with the indifference of age-long philosophy. Through the murmur of sounds that fills the heavy air laden with the many smells of an Oriental bazaar comes a familiar *clang*—the importunate jangling of the bell of an electric train which glides along near by in vivid contrast to this bit of the old world.

The policy of the Austrians is to attempt to break down the race tradition as far as possible, and they take a certain number of Bosnians, both Christians and Turks, into their government offices, while the soldiers recruited in Bosnia are drafted to regiments quartered at Graz, Vienna or Budapest.

What do the people think of Austrian rule? What did they think of their former rulers, the Turks, or of any rule save their own? Under four centuries of Ottoman domination they undoubtedly absorbed enough of the patient resignation of the Oriental to be philosophical under the features of misrule peculiar to Oriental governments, but a more active and systematic method of government is likely to arouse definite opposition. Taxation, they complain, bears heavily, and the price paid for Austrian order is too great—Turkish disorder was preferable. Then, the usual complaint of the Oriental under European domination. There is no longer any flavour in

SLIPPER SELLER, SARAJEVO

ROASTING LAMBS, BOSNIA

life; no risks, no chances, and no gambling with Fate, no possibilities of a career founded on nothing more than skill and tact—nothing but the bare facts of a bureaucracy bound hand and foot with red-tape and a peasantry compelled to pay taxes.

With the usual adaptability of the Slav race the Bosnians, employed by the Government in tobacco-factories, have already varied the monotony by strikes, adopting the weapons of a different phase of development for lack of better. The appearance of the Bosnians impresses one favourably. They have the fine bearing of a mountain people, and the open countenances and square look in the eyes which one hardly expects from a race with their history of subjection. The women are often very handsome, and both sexes have a bright intelligent look and are said to have excellent mental capacity. The Bosnians naturally make good soldiers and there are native regiments totalling some seven thousand men. Conscription for the Austro-Hungarian army is on the same footing as in Austria, and, as we have said already, the attempt is made by associating the conscript with regimental companies from other parts of the Dual Monarchy to cure him of a too narrow and local patriotism.

Dalmatia is a crown-land of Austria, and consists of little more than a montainous fringe and a long string of (comparatively) barren islands. Yet the importance of this region in history shews that it must have some strategic advantages, and, in fact, its position on the coast of the Adriatic makes it essential to the region of Central Europe which is cut off in every other quarter from the

sea. Here again we have the Slav population contending with an alien race and civilisation, and the tenacity with which they have held their own is the more remarkable because in this case it was the tide of Latin and Italian influence which they have had to combat. The people are, like the Bosnians and Croato-Slavonians, Serbo-Croats, a compound name which indicates not so much two races as two forms of Christianity. The Italian element is strong, especially in some of the towns, like Trieste or Zara, and there is a continual conflict between the national (Slav) party and that of the Italians. The costumes of the Dalmatians and their fine personal appearance make them very attractive, and it is curious to trace the warring influences of East and West in their dresses, which are as much Turkish as Italian or Slav.

No part of the Austrian lands has a more varied history than this coast of the Adriatic, which was an independent kingdom before Augustus annexed it to the province of Illyricum. Then came Goths, Avars, and a Slav dominion which lasted for five centuries, and when in the twelfth century the kingdom of Hungary conquered part of it, the rest, forming the duchy of Dalmatia, came under the suzerainty of the Venetian republic, from whom it was partially wrested by the Turks some three centuries later. Then Dalmatia was ceded entirely to Venice in 1718, in 1797 was handed to Austria, in 1805 became part of Italy, in 1810 formed part of the Napoleonic "kingdom of Illyria," and since 1814 has once more been placed under Austria. It has, in fact, been a pawn in the game played by the Powers, for in all these trans-

COAST SCENERY, RAGUSA

actions Dalmatia itself has been more or less passive. One part of it has, however, a record of independence only broken when Napoleon conquered it in 1806, and that is Ragusa, the ancient town which once was the centre of a republic, small in fact but great in historical tradition. As early as the fourteenth century Ragusa was a flourishing town and the centre of a civilisation far ahead of any contemporary in Germany or even Italy. In this beautiful coast town, lying picturesquely at the foot and on the slopes of Mt. Sergio, there were schools and colleges of European renown. Here poets sang and philosophers taught, and students came even from Germany to listen to them. There is a quaint old-world air about the sleepy town to-day, but little to remind one that it was once the seat of learning or the centre of a busy trade, and that its harbour was full of vessels and its markets of merchants. It lies in the broad sunshine, its white buildings contrasting with the green of foliage and brilliant hues of the flower-gardens that surround its villas, the deep blue Adriatic beating against its rocky shore. In many respects Ragusa is the most beautiful city of the Adriatic, though it is hard to realise that this sleepy, shut-in, little, old town ever played a great part in history. Since the conquest by Napoleon Ragusa has followed the fortunes of the rest of Dalmatia, and it is to-day under Austrian rule, though there is little to shew that any living force is at work.

An Adriatic coast town of a different character is Trieste, which has also a long history, but, unlike Ragusa, lives very keenly in the present. It is practically the one sea-port of Austria, Fiume being the only one of

Hungary; and these two divide the Austro-Hungarian trade. The Emperor Charles VI. made Trieste a free port in 1719, but it is not free since 1891 and only the new harbour is outside the customs limit. Austria has spent a good deal of money on improvements and continues to enlarge the accommodation for ships. The position of Trieste, at the head of the Adriatic and close to the Italian frontier, is of great importance in relation to the political situation, and it is no secret that the control of this key of the Adriatic, the nearest coast town and harbour for Central Europe, is the subject of many chauvinist designs on the part of Italy and Germany. It is, however, absolutely essential to Austria, nor would it be convenient for Hungary to see it converted into a rival port, in the hands of a powerful neighbour and possible commercial opponent.

At Pola, on the point of the Istrian peninsula, is the Austrian naval station. It still contains magnificent remains of the Roman days when it was an important place, though the constant dispute for its possession by the Genoese and Venetians led to much destruction of the ancient town. Like the rest of Dalmatia, it passed into Austrian hands after the Napoleonic war.

The salient features of the Dalmatian province are, first, the historical traditions, a modern administration built up on the ruins of ancient kingdoms and republics; second, the eternal race conflict, in which the substratum of Slavs are now shewing renewed vitality. In another place we have mentioned the influence of the French occupation during the brief "kingdom of Illyria" period in

STREET SCENE, RAGUSA

reviving native sentiment. The reawakened feeling has not died out, and the result is that the predominance of the Italian element is being slowly but surely reduced. Whither this revived national sentiment is leading the Slavs of Dalmatia it is hard to say, but for the present they contend chiefly for control of their provincial Diet and local and municipal governments, and for the privilege of sending as many as possible of the eleven members who represent them in the Reichsrath.[2]

The future of these two territories, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia, is involved not only with that of the Dual Monarchy but with that of the Balkan States and Italy. No portion of the Habsburg domains is fuller of interest, and none presents more difficulties of racial, religious and political development than these lands bordering the blue Adriatic.

[2] In the summer of 1906 serious riots occurred between the Serbo-Croatian and Italian elements in Dalmatia and Croatia. A gathering of sokols (gymnastic societies from different Slavonic lands), held at Agram, was the signal for displays of Slav nationalism which aroused the ire of the Latin population; outrages were committed and street fighting took place, order only being restored by the military.

CHAPTER X

STATE ORGANISATION

THAT there is a considerable degree of misconception as to the actual constitution of Austria-Hungary is plain from the errors in terminology which one meets in the writings of well-informed people as well as in ordinary conversation. The expression, "Austrian empire," frequently applied to the two countries of Austria and Hungary with their dependencies, is the most common of these mistakes. There are English maps which bear this legend printed right across Central Erope. It is therefore necessary to begin at the beginning, in order to explain the organisation of the Dual Monarchy as a state.

There is an Austrian empire and an Austrian emperor —emperor by virtue of his descent from a long Imperial line, though the empire over which his predecessors ruled was different in character and extent to the dominions over which he holds sway to-day. Austria itself is only one part of those dominions, but it is the centre round which others are grouped and gives its Imperial name to certain erstwhile independent kingdoms, duchies, and counties now under the rule of the house of Habsburg. There are seventeen of these "crown lands," called generically provinces,[1] each having a provincial Diet or local parliament and a certain degree of autonomy and all sending

representatives to the Austrian imperial parliament or Reichsrath.[2]

While these provinces are collectively termed Austria, just as the French provinces make France, yet the Austrian emperor must *de facto* assume all the titles connected with each division in order to establish his claim on them. Thus he is king of Bohemia, Dalmatia, and Galicia; archduke of Lower and Upper Austria; duke of Styria, Carinthia, etc.; count of the Tryol, etc. Bohemia claims independence for herself and for the lands belonging to the Bohemian crown by reason of her historical constitutional rights. Her claim is to be an independent country with a separate constitution under the kingship of the Austrian emperor. At present, however, the Emperor Francis Joseph has never consented to a coronation in Prague, which would involve the recognition of Bohemia as not a province, but an allied, independent state, and she remains a province of Austria.

The kingdom of Hungary is not a province of Austria—a disclaimer which may seem unnecessary to many people, but which is, in fact, justified by the misconceptions which prevail. It is very usual for Hungary to be com-

[1] *Kingdoms*
Bohemia, Galicia and Dalmatia
Margraviates
Moravia and Istria
Arch-Duchies
Upper Austria
Lower Austria
Duchies
Salzburg
Styria
Carinthia
Carniola
Silesia
Bukowina
"Land" Simply
Vorarlberg
Counties, raised to Principalities
Görz-Gradiska and Tyrol
Special Crown Land
Trieste and District

pared to Ireland, in its relations to an alien king, but the comparison is misleading. In traits of character, and in some degree in economic conditions, there is a likeness between the two countries, but their constitutional position is totally different. Hungary is, and always has been, an independent sovereign state governed by rulers whose authority has of necessity been recognised by her Estates. The basis of the connection with Austria is the fact that the reigning house of Austria is also the reigning house of Hungary, and this personal link has brought about a close political and commercial union. At the same time since 1867 the two monarchies have been organised as one state for certain purposes, and this union is not casual nor mechanical but is founded on a constitution promulgated by their common ruler and recognised by their Estates.

Both in Austria and Hungary the crown is hereditary in the house of Habsburg-Lorraine, and the monarch must be a member of the Roman Catholic Church. His official titles are Emperor of Austria and Apostolic king of Hungary, and the correct style of his dominions is the "Austro-Hungarian monarchy." It is obviously incorrect to speak of the Austro-Hungarian empire, because Hungary is neither an empire nor part of an empire. It has become usual in text books to adopt a division of the dual monarchy into two parts, and to call these "Cisleithania and Transleithania," that is, the lands west and east of the river Leitha, roughly Austria and Hungary. This nomenclature, however, does not appear to have any authority, and it obscures the actual facts of the case and is obnoxious to Hungarians, because it has the appearance

of making them part of an Austrian empire. Lest this be thought a far-fetched objection it may be worth while to quote from an otherwise admirable book of reference, the last edition of Baedeker, "The Leitha is here the boundary between Austria and Hungary, dividing *the empire* into Cisleithania and Transleithania."

We have already traced the historical genesis of the Dual Monarchy, and explained the circumstances that led up to the reorganisation of its political relations which took place in the Ausgleich of 1867. The subject is, however, so complicated that it may be well (at the risk of repetition) to give here the salient features in that compact. The entire independence of the two states and the hereditary claims of the house of Habsburg-Lorraine on both being recognised, a certain number of affairs were placed for mutual advantage under joint control. These common affairs are (1) Foreign relations; (2) Military and naval affairs connected with common defence (each country has, besides, its own independent military department); (3) Finance relating to common affairs. The operations of these joint departments are explained in more detail later on, and it need only be said here that they are dependent on the bodies in Austria and Hungary, which have the power of voting money for joint expenditure. This money is controlled by what are known as the two Delegations, each composed of sixty members chosen from the parliaments of the two countries and appointed for one year. These Delegations, which form the parliamentary organ of the Dual Monarchy as a whole, meet alternately at Vienna and Budapest every

year and deliberate independently, their decisions being communicated to each other in writing. If a mutual agreement cannot be arrived at, the Delegations, or an equal number of their members from either side, meet and vote on the question without discussion. It is notorious that the power of producing a deadlock in the affairs of the country is a weapon which has been used without scruple to secure party ends.

This political union is theoretically permanent and forms, indeed, a part of the Constitution. There is, however, a commercial union which has to be renewed by mutual agreement at intervals of ten years. The two states form practically one territory for customs and commerce; they have the same coinage, weights, and measures, and a joint bank. The agreement on which the continuance of this state of affairs depends was renewable in 1897, but for purposes of political obstruction the necessary consent was withheld and the situation had to be met by a provisional arrangement, by which the emperor, exercising his prerogatives, prolonged the duration of the agreement.

We have seen that the Austrian provinces enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy exercised through the medium of the provincial diets. These diets are, in principle, representative of the people, but the preponderance given to the landed and monied interest precludes any representation in the democratic sense of the word. The present electoral basis secures this state of affairs, but the granting of universal suffrage, now under consideration, will undoubtedly cause a great upheaval of the present system. The constitution of the provincial diets is, in

fact, a smaller replica (with only one house) of the Reichsrath or Austrian parliament, and the briefest description of the latter will therefore suffice.

There are in the Austrian (as in the British) parliament two houses, the first hereditary and the second elective. The upper house includes all Imperial princes who are of age, a number of hereditary nobles possessing large landed property, a certain number of princes of the Church (prince-bishops and archbishops), and life members nominated by the Emperor for services to Church or State or distinguished in art or science.

The lower house consists of members elected, partly directly and partly indirectly, by the votes of all citizens twenty-four years of age and possessing certain small property and personal qualifications. It is not, in fact, so much the electoral qualification as the classification of voters which constitutes the advantage obtained by a section of the population. By a careful gerrymandering the landed proprietors, the towns, and the chambers of trade and commerce, obtain a preponderance in the Reichsrath which is out of proportion to the numerical strength of their supporters. As the whole of this system, which has given rise to great discontent, will be revised by the Bill passed in December, 1906, it need not be discussed in detail, but it must be noted that the preponderance in Austria and Bohemia of the German element in the towns and commerce, and also the strong conservative element in the Church and among the large landed proprietors, have hitherto been favourable to the preservation of German influence and interests.

The Hungarian half of the Dual Monarchy has a Constitution different in many respects from that of Austria and dating back to 1222. This Constitution was frequently disregarded, but the only period in which it can be said to have been really in suspension was that following the abortive revolution of 1849. In 1867, however, it was reaffirmed and established by the coronation-oath of Francis Joseph. Hungary was established first as an aristocratic monarchy, and the historic chamber of its governmental system is the House of Magnates, originally the "Table," the true constitutional assembly of the Magyars. Although the crown is hereditary, the consent of the Magnates has always been considered essential to the legal position of the sovereign. Since 1885 this House of Lords has been reformed, and now includes, besides the great nobles in whose families the dignity is hereditary, a number of Church dignitaries of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and Protestant Churches. There are also life-peers appointed by the crown and others appointed by the house itself, and the high judges and officials of State are, *ex officio,* members of this house. Besides all these, there are three members who are delegates from Croatia-Slavonia.

The lower (representative) house is elected on a lower suffrage qualification than in Austria, and in the case of professional, scientific or learned classes without any but the requisite age qualification.

The elections take place every five years and parliament meets annually at Budapest, Magyar being the language spoken, though the Croatian-Serbs may use their

own tongue. Members are paid £200 a year, with an allowance for house-rent. In Austria, it may be mentioned, they get only 16s. 8d. for each day's attendance, with travelling expenses.

The system of local government is based on the commune as the unit of administration, and all males over twenty who pay the State taxes have electoral rights within their commune. In Croatia-Slavonia each county has an assembly similar to the local representative bodies of Hungary, and this country has also a national Diet and autonomy for home affairs, public instruction and justice. At the head of this autonomous provincial Diet, and responsible both to it and to the Hungarian prime minister is the Ban of Croatia, who, nowadays, is a Hungarian noble.

The parliamentary system of the Dual Monarchy differs in some points from that of Great Britain, and notably in the position of the sovereign. In our country the defeat of a political party entails upon the King the duty of inviting the one of the leaders of the party which has secured a majority to form a new ministry, and the Prime Minister is responsible to his party and must follow the policy and traditions of that party. In Austria and Hungary the emperor selects a prime minister and entrusts him with the task of getting a party together with a sufficient majority to get its policy through. The prime minister in this case is responsible to the sovereign, whose policy he has undertaken (more or less) to put through. It is obvious, therefore, that the personal influence of the sovereign is a very important factor, and also that the

situation is one that specially favours the continuance of small political parties and the rise of the smaller nationalities. Though relatively small in number, a united party, like the Poles of Galicia, for instance, can secure great concessions at critical moments by the weight they are able to throw into the scale. We have a similar phenomenon (quite at variance with the true traditions of parliamentary party government) in our own Irish party, but Austria and Hungary have each not one but several Irelands to contend with.

No sketch, however incomplete, of the administration of Austria-Hungary could fail to notice the prevalence of that objectionable feature known as red-tape. This is specially pronounced in Austria, where the machine is a very old and complicated one, but Hungary has not escaped the taint, and the whole administration of the monarchy is complex and elaborate in the extreme. As in Russia, Germany, Italy, and France, the position occupied by the functionaries of the State, down to the humblest of street officials, is hedged round with a kind of divinity. The British and American public, who regard the officers of the State as their servants and not their masters, may consider this objectionable, but in a country so full of discordant elements as Austria-Hungary it is peculiarly necessary to uphold the majesty of the law. It is sometimes stated that the police abuse their privileged position and that brutality and corruption are as rife here as in Russia, but due allowance has to be made for a country which is only just emerging from a reign of absolutism.

JEWISH TYPES, GALICIA

RUTHENIANS, FROM CRACOW

There are certainly regulations which, designed for the protection of the community, are a restriction on the liberty of the individual. Such is the law of *Schubmesen*, whereby it is enacted that a person without means of subsistence should be sent to the commune in which he was born.

Then in Austria the workman must carry a certificate of his place of domicile and a book in which the record of his work is shewn, and other formalities must be complied with which, in the hands of petty officials, may be made a source of irritation or oppression. These provisions, however, are not to be criticised as peculiar to the Austrian system, since they are in fact identical with those found in the most modern and progressive industrial centres—for instance, in Berlin—and side by side with the most advanced socialist propaganda. A little while ago a party of superior mechanics from Birmingham paid a visit to some fellow-workmen in Berlin, and in comparing their lot with those of their German fellows they remarked that the discipline inflicted on the latter (from military service downwards) appeared to have the effect of making them healthier, richer, and happier than their untrammelled contemporaries in England.

It is not advisable, therefore, to pass judgment too hastily on any continental system, but in the administration of the system it is possible to detect serious defects. These are almost invariably due in Austria to red-tape. The lack of originality and initiative which are apparent in the educated Austrian are increased tenfold by an official training. From the court, with its wearisome and elaborate

etiquette, down to the merest municipal offices, everyone is so weighted with rules, regulations and traditions, books of reference and precedent that it seems impossible to move them out of the narrow groove in which their minds are set.

An almost incredible incident of bureaucratic red tape occurred some little time ago in connection with a minor railway official. It must be premised that every station master must fill in elaborate returns of all the traffic, place of origin and destination, character, bulk, etc., and after a day's hard labour the busy man of all work on a small station is not too particular about his "returns" so long as they are plausible. On these figures are built up an elaborate superstructure of statistics, demonstrating the most undemonstrable facts with the clearness and convincing force customary with such documents. The story is concerned with one of these busy officials who, in supplying material for such heavy artillery, was so unfortunate as to traverse some of the regulations. He was haled before a committee of inquiry, when his advocate appeared followed by a stout porter staggering under the load of thirty heavy volumes. The advocate arranged these before him and said, "Gentlemen, the regulation my client has infringed is contained in one of these volumes. He is still a young man. I have nothing more to say." Result, acquittal!

The Italians used to have a saying regarding the Austrians which dates from the early days of the occupation by the latter of north Italy. They say the Austrians are a people "che vogliano la carta"—"always want paper,"

and the criticism is almost equally applicable to the Hungarians.

All government employés, even for the lower grades, must have a complete *Realschule* or *Gymnasium* education, and unless they have passed the examination which entitles them to enter the university, their chances of promotion are slight. Except for the natural operation of favouritism there is no distinction, social or otherwise, in the appointments. An excellent provision is that by which the lower civil services (copying clerks, porters, postmen, and minor post and telegraph officials, etc.) are given to men (non-commissioned officers particularly) of the *Honved* (Hungarian army) and *Landwehr* (Austrian militia) who have been twelve years with the colours.

Besides the ordinary police, there is a secret service or "Staats" police, and the functions of this body, so repulsive in principle to Britons and Americans, need some explanation. After 1848, during the period of absolutism which was directed by Metternich, Austria and Hungary were permeated by the secret police, and it is true that a tyranny was established by means of the information they were able to acquire. But the transformation of not only Hungary but Austria also into constitutional states has been accomplished, and the permeation of liberal ideas has made inevitable the gradual restriction of the functions of the secret police. They are now employed, undoubtedly, partly for political and partly for criminal investigations, and also to carry out the system by which each citizen is personally under the observation of the law, but it is not necessary to construe this into an interference with

private liberty; it is rather in the nature of a preventive measure, which the democratic countries where every man is his own keeper do not deem necessary. In one respect this supervision is necessary to the military organisation of the county, for it is necessary to keep in touch with all the Reserve officers in case of mobilisation. The real evil, if there is an evil, lies not in any special feature of the system, but in the system itself, and (as our Birmingham mechanic pointed out) even the extremes of bureaucracy may have their advantages. It is, however, incontestable that the development of a bureaucratic system is favourable to the growth of red tape, and that both are frequently the cause of inconvenience, or even worse, while the multiplication of petty functionaries creates a class of men whose chief business in life is to make work.

We must now turn to another side of Austro-Hungarian administration and one which is of the deepest political, as well as economic, importance—the finances of the two countries.

The story of the national finances of Austria is a chequered and often melancholy one. It is of course impossible to trace it in any detail, or to go back to any remote period. In 1812 there was practically a State bankruptcy, caused partially no doubt by the drain of the Napoleonic wars, but also due to a long period of State improvidence. For a hundred years paper money was *cours-forcé,* and at the end of the eighteenth century the State began to issue, without the intermediary of banks, notes which were called "banco zettel." This paper depreciated in value until in 1810 the Treasury fixed the

rate of exchange at which the notes could be accepted (at one-fifth of their face value) for other notes which were called "retreats." But even this was not the lowest depth reached by the paper currency, since the notes given for the "banco zettel" were in 1813 exchanged for anticipatory notes, so called because they were to be guaranteed and exchanged at a later date on the security of certain taxes yet to be levied. The depreciation in this paper money was, later on, limited by law to 60 per cent., but not even this liberal margin covered the actual loss. It became apparent that some strenuous effort must be made to save the situation, and the Austrian National Bank was founded, with privileges and concessions from the State. The "retreat" and "anticipatory" notes were destroyed and exchanged for bonds ("obligations") or for notes issued by the bank.

In 1839 there were still in currency 135 millions of old State paper notes (*cours-forcé*) and these constantly depreciated, having to pay a premium on metal, as the banknotes could be exchanged against specie at par. This state of affairs continued until in 1848 the bank advanced important sums to the State in notes. The calls made by the State upon the resources of the bank hampered the operations of the latter, and commerce and industries suffered in consequence. Moreover, the careless administration of the State finances brought about a depreciation in the value even of the bank paper, and in 1848 the situation was aggravated by the decreeing of *cours-forcé* for banknotes.

In 1855 there was a general breakdown in the Austrian

finances, a state of affairs which was largely instrumental in deciding the Emperor to grant constitutional rights to his subjects. In the October patent of 1860, and still more in the February charter of 1861, the control of finances and issue of new loans were among the first prerogatives of Parliament, but that body did not altogether fulfil the hopes of its originators in "raising the wind," being more inclined to ask for accounts than to provide funds. Nevertheless, reforms were planned, and payment by specie was to begin in 1867, a pious aspiration entirely defeated by the war of 1866 and the necessity for a fresh issue of paper money. In 1867 came the Ausgleich and a rearrangement of the finances of the Dual Monarchy on a basis to be described later.

After a period of economic development came another of wild flotation and stock-jobbing, and in 1873 a terrible financial crisis was the result. In 1878 the occupation of Herzegovina and a great expansion in railway construction made it impossible for the State to begin its task of calling in paper, but since that period there has been a steady and continuous effort both in Austria and Hungary to remedy the chronic deficit in the budgets and to arrive at payment in specie. The privileged Austrian bank was, in 1878, transformed into the Austro-Hungarian Bank with centres, having equality of control, at Vienna and Budapest. In 1892 both states adopted a gold standard on the basis of the 10-*krone* piece (the *krone* equalling 10d.), and this reform of the currency has proved very beneficial, though, to begin with, the gold standard had to be consolidated at fifteen per cent. loss on the former legal silver

standard of Austria-Hungary. Gold has been bought abroad by means of "gold loans," and at the present time the bank must hold a reserve of gold to cover forty-nine per cent. of banknotes in circulation. Although not legally bound to do so, the bank pays its notes in gold on demand. As a matter of fact, the gold coinage has never become popular, paper being preferred, and the gold in the possession of the bank in 1904 amounted to over sixty-three million pounds and exceeded that of the German Reichsbank or the Bank of England. The single paper florins were withdrawn in 1898 and replaced by silver and nickel money, but there are still State notes of five to fifty florins (equalling ten to a hundred *krone*) in circulation, which will in time be absorbed and replaced by metal or banknotes. The State has to make a deposit with the bank to cover each State note converted into a banknote. There have been many conversions and operations too technical and complicated for description here; it is sufficient to say that Austria has emerged from the slough of financial difficulties which at one time threatened to engulf her. She has no longer a depreciated and uncertain coinage, and her State paper is all fully guaranteed. Her heavy liabilities are, it is asserted, due to the necessity of military expenditure, but in fact they are due also to past financial misdeeds. Because of these, educational requirements and public works were neglected, and at the present time the growth of social and humanitarian feeling in State and country alike makes increased expenditures inevitable.

The Austrian budgets for the last few years shew, on paper, a balance of revenue over expenditure, and both are

increasing steadily. The great increase in expenditure on public works includes the taking over and construction of railways, about sixty per cent. of which have been placed under State control. A network of local lines exist in addition to the main arteries of traffic, and these are partly privately owned, or are the property of the provinces or communes. The Government encourages construction. Tariffs and freights are kept low on State lines to promote trade and industry, and although the railways are unremunerative—earning only two per cent. and costing over four per cent. on their capital value—they must be considered as indirectly productive, and essential to the proper development of the country. On the other hand, the nominal increase in revenue is deceptive, as there are included in it assets which are not ordinary income. Were it not for the method of preparing the budgets a deficit would appear in the place of the surplus, and the financial condition has, in reality, been less satisfactory than it might have been for the last five years owing to the method employed by various political parties of obstructing the voting of supplies. Large sums demanded for the services and public works remain unvoted.

The financial affairs of the Dual Monarchy are divided into three sections, each having its own finance minister. It is recorded that when Victor Emmanuel visited the Austrian emperor at Vienna, and was presented to each of these functionaries in turn, he exclaimed with surprise: "What a rich country this must be to want three finance ministers!" The three departments are, however, kept entirely separate, and as this arrangement is one of the

fundamental characteristics of the Constitution and furnishes matter for perennial debate between Austria and Hungary, it is necessary to understand it clearly. Each half of the monarchy has a separate budget, with revenue and expenditure entirely independent and distinct. Each has its own civil list, its own national debt, its own internal administration and its own chancellery (to mention only a few of the heads of expenditure), while Austria has to keep up a ministry of national defence and Hungary maintains at her own expense her national army or *Honved.* The sources of revenue are similar in principle in both countries, but differ in detail. They consist of taxation, direct and indirect, State monopolies and State properties, the latter including forests, silver and coal mines, and State railways. Besides the two distinct financial departments of Austria and Hungary there is a third joint department, which deals with common affairs and has a common revenue, partly derived from the common customs receipts and partly from contributions from each half of the monarchy. The question of the right proportions of these contributions has naturally been a burning one. It is nominally decided every ten years by two committees chosen from the delegations from the two parliaments and called "Quota" deputations. Up to 1897 Austria paid 65.6 and Hungary 34.4, but the Hungarians refused to accept this proportion, and the deputations failed to agree. As a result parliamentary business broke down, neither the customs union nor the Bank charter were confirmed and the necessary steps had to be taken by Royal charter. Peace was restored for a time in 1899 by the reduction of

the Hungarian proportion to 33, but while Austrians continue to grumble that, although paying two-thirds of the expenses they have only half control, the Hungarians are by no means satisfied, and believe that with entirely separate departments they could work more economically. The departments included in this Common budget are three: First, foreign affairs, including diplomatic and consular representatives abroad, as well as international relations (with regard to the latter, however, sanction to treaties, commercial or otherwise, must be given alike by the Austrian and Hungarian parliaments). Second, the army and navy, excluding measures in which Austria alone is concerned, such as the voting of recruits and legislation respecting military service; Third, finance, so far as the joint budget is concerned.

There is also a class of financial questions upon which the two halves of the Dual Monarchy determine in common, such as customs legislation, coinage and currency questions, railways in which both have an interest and the military system. The Dual Monarchy also has customs and commercial relations in common. A customs and commercial union was made in 1867, renewed in 1878 and promulgated in 1887 for a period of ten years. Since that time, as has been said already, it has not been renewed by parliament, but the Emperor-King has prolonged it by the use of his prerogatives, and at the time of writing a provisional arrangement is in force pending the sanction of Parliament. This is one of the battlefields of the Dual Monarchy. Round this customs convention wages the fiercest war, and it is only possible to understand the polit-

ical situation in Austria-Hungary by appreciating the importance of the question in the relations of the two countries. It must be premised that the revenue of the joint customs is ear-marked for common expenditure, and is the only revenue actually set apart for that purpose. There is always a deficit, which moreover is increasing out of proportion to the increase in customs revenue. It is this deficit which has to be supplied by the proportional contributions already described. The customs convention is undoubtedly useful to Austria, as it protects her manufactures against German competition, and Austrians declare that without the customs convention their legitimate contribution to common expenditure should be reduced by ten per cent. and would still be too high. Many Hungarians who are bent on entire independence of Austria in commercial matters would prefer to have their own consulates, and do not allow that they have a control of joint affairs in proportion to their contribution. The whole question raised, however, is essentially one of high politics, and must be considered in a subsequent chapter. Enough has been said to shew that the common affairs of the Dual Monarchy bristle with difficulties.

The Hungarian finances have been complicated by Parliamentary obstruction in the same way as the common finances. In 1903-4 nearly two million pounds were lost to the Government through the Radical opposition to the Budget and the failure to vote supply and therefore to collect taxation. It is calculated that, as the great joint stock companies paid their taxes in spite of obstruction, the mass of the population remained debtors to the State of

half their taxes, and a great deal of this cannot be recovered. Nevertheless the Government was able to stand the strain, for, Hungarian finances having been placed on a sound basis by Dr. Wekerle (a financier of European reputation), the revenue and expenditure are now made to balance despite the heavy and progressive expenditure on public works. This satisfactory state of affairs was not reached until some years after Hungary secured her independence. A heavy initial outlay was made on railways, and the policy of nationalising all lines has been followed out, sometimes by means of forced sales. The zone tariff was adopted, and the lines are not regarded as revenue-producing, being on the contrary partly covered by income from other sources. Educational and industrial institutions are the subjects of State solicitude, and although Hungary enunciates the principle that private enterprise is essential to industrial activity, she is in fact indulging, like Austria, in some extreme forms of State socialism. The revenue and expenditure of Hungary for 1905 were estimated respectively at £51,583,000, and £51,385,000.

At the time of the Ausgleich Hungary took over a proportion of the national debt, incurred during the absolutist period, which amounted to about one-fourth. This arrangement was altered in 1876 to a fixed annual contribution towards interest (£2,431,000), but, owing to differences of opinion between the two countries on the details of the conversion which then took place, a portion of the debt was put on one side as the Hungarian share, and still pays the original rate of interest, while Hungary contributes a fixed sum of two and a half millions as her con-

tribution. Besides this joint national debt, which in 1903 amounted to 226 millions sterling, each half of the Dual Monarchy has its own national debt. That of Austria amounted in 1903 to £382,791,000, and that of Hungary to £141,075,000, or nearly £10 per head of population, about half that of the United Kingdom. These debts, especially that of Austria, are heavy charges, but it is necessary to remember the expensive reforms in currency and financial methods which the mistakes of former years made necessary, and also the recent heavy expenditure on works which may reasonably be expected to be in time reproductive.

We have said already that in principle both halves of the Dual Monarchy raise their revenue by similar means. Direct taxation in both countries has been considerably raised and is proportionately high. There are two divisions of direct taxation; one current in both States, fixed by renewable compromise, which includes taxes on various articles of consumption, and the other separately raised and varying in incidence in each country, such as ground, house, trade, income, and transport taxation.

The income tax is levied on nearly the same basis in both halves of the monarchy and is divided into four classes, which include (1) ground rent and mortgages, (2) industrial and commercial revenues, (3) professional or other private incomes, salaries and profits on farming, (4) interest on revenue from capital or unearned increment. As in England, the tax on personal incomes is progressive (immunity being only granted below £50); being .6 per cent. up to £75 and rising to nearly five per cent. on in-

comes exceeding £8,333 per annum. Nearly half the taxpayers pay on incomes below £75 a year; moreover many individuals may have to pay twice over, as there is a separately levied tax on salaries over £266 which are not included in income. A merchant who owns land in the country and a house in town pays the land-tax, the house-tax, the industry tax, and probably a tax on dividends, and then, deducting the total of his taxation, he pays a tax on his income counting the sources already taxed.[3]

The State monopolies constitute another and very fruitful source of revenue. Austria has had a State monoply of tobacco since 1670. To-day it is directly exploited, both in culture, importation and manufacture. Hungary has followed suit since 1851, having built up an industry of her own in this respect, partly by a patriotic resolve on the part of the Magyars to smoke only Hungarian tobacco.

Of the foreign capital in the Dual Monarchy nearly half that invested both in Government stock and private enterprises is French; twenty-eight per cent. is German and the rest is English, Dutch, and Belgian. The French investor, who is notoriously shy of financing any enterprise in his own country, has, in addition to Government and railway stock, been willing to take up less reliable investments in mines. Austria and Hungary are both anxious to retain the control of the railways, many of which are built with French capital, and in some cases are forcibly buying up railways, paying for them in State bonds. The

[3] Compare with the English income tax; immunity below £160 per annum and abatements on a progressive scale up to £700.

TAKING HAY TO MARKET. CATHOLIC VILLAGE, HERZEGOVINA

most solid financial Austrian institution is the Austrian Crédit Foncier, which is built up largely on French capital and has a central office at Paris, with branches in most of the large Austrian cities and at Bucharest. The Hungarian Crédit Foncier was also a French creation and has a good standing. German capital is especially engaged in industrial enterprises in which the direction and control is also German. Curiously enough, German enterprise is more extensive in Hungary than in Austria.

The Stock Exchange, both at Vienna and Budapest, is entirely controlled by the Jewish element. We have already mentioned that all the bankers are Jews, and the shares of the great credit establishment, the Austro-Hungarian bank, practically regulate the market. Capital is, to a very large extent, foreign, and foreign influence is a great factor, a circumstance which might cause uneasiness, in view of the weight of the money market in matters political, were it not becoming more and more apparent that in Europe, and indeed in the whole civilised world, the operations of the various stock exchanges, controlled by a narrowing ring (chiefly Jewish), are influenced far less than might be expected by national or political considerations.

The third department of State which Austria and Hungary share in common is that of Defence. The geographical position of the two countries gives them an immense stretch of frontier to defend; they have three powerful States as neighbours, and it is not surprising to find that the military spirit is highly developed and that the whole social organisation is built up round the army. As in

Germany and France, the system of defence rests on universal conscription. Practically from the age of nineteen to that of forty-two, all able males are liable to military service in one form or another, and even those exempt in time of peace are liable to be called out in wartime. There are three classes of service; the common army of the Dual Monarchy, the special armies (*Honved* of Hungary and *Landwehr* of Austria), and the levy-in-mass. The term of service is twelve years, of which three years are passed with the colours, seven in the reserve (common army) and two with the *Honved* or *Landwehr*. Conscription for the common army begins at twenty-one years of age. In addition to the men recruited under this regulation, the *Honved* and *Landwehr* have the right to recruit independently a yearly contingent which serves two years with the colours and ten with the reserves. The peculiar significance of this regulation is that it establishes the principle that the two national armies are entirely separate from the common army though they are linked up for the purposes of defence. Besides the ordinary service of twelve years, all males between the ages of nineteen and forty-two, whether belonging to the exempt classes or not, are liable to be called out by the levy-in-mass, unless (of course) they already belong to the common army or navy, reserve, or special armies. This levy-in-mass cannot, however, be sent beyond the country except by statute, and it forms in reality a reserve which would only be indented upon at a national crisis. It must be noted that the "exempt" classes (elementary school teachers, single men supporting mothers, and others) are not released from all

military obligation. They are formed into a supplementary reserve called the *Ersatz,* and are liable to eight weeks' training and four weeks' manœuvres in the year. Moreover, those who have adopted the military profession are not exempt from service after the age of forty-two, and both they and civil officials in retirement may be called on to serve in the levy-in-mass until the age of sixty.

The Emperor-King is the head of the army, and is called the "War Lord" (*Oberste Kriegs Herr*). Immediately under (and responsible to) him are the three or four inspectors general. The *Landwehr* and *Honved* have each their own commander-in-chief, answerable only to the Emperor, and the common army has a General Staff, the chief of which is responsible to the Emperor alone. The central administration of the common army is the war ministry at Vienna, and the *Landwehr* and *Honved* have respectively national ministries of defence at Vienna and Budapest.

The General Staff, like the organisation of the army generally, is modelled on that of Germany and presents no special features. Officers serving on it have not only to pass very severe examinations, but must perform practical staff work with distinction. They are also given relief from staff work and kept in touch with the troops by short periods of command in different districts. Each army corps and each division has a "General Staff section," with a Staff officer as chief of Staff assisted by three or four others. The brigades have each one General Staff officer.

The recruiting for the medical corps is partly accom-

plished by granting subventions to young men who, in return for aid in pursuing their medical studies, give a certain number of years' service in the army. All other medical students are liable to the usual conscription, but give only six months under the colours and six months in military hospital. The three years of ordinary conscription service with the colours is reduced to one in the case of university or military academy students who have passed a certain standard. The commissioned ranks in the common army are not reserved, as in Great Britain, for a special class of society, but are open to all. This, however, has only been the case since the reorganisation of the army after Sadowa, up to which period the rank and file were chiefly long-service men and the officers drawn from the aristocratic classes. There are now three ways of becoming an officer: first, by graduating as sub-lieutenant from one of the two military academies (equivalent to university standard); second, by passing through the cadet schools and entering the army as a cadet-officer aspirant (a commission is generally obtained after one or two years); and third, all officers of reserve (who have been in the one-year class) can, if they desire and if they pass their examinations with distinction, get commissions in the line. The officers of the two national armies are as a rule transferred from the common army or from the reserves, but there are cadet schools for each, and Hungary is now anxious to secure an independent supply of officers for the *Honved.* It may be mentioned that over half the officers follow the profession permanently, but the rest retire into civil life, and (after a year's training and passing the necessary

examinations) enter the reserve with the grade of sub-lieutenant.

An exceedingly high state of efficiency and scientific knowledge is required from the Austrian officer, as well as an amount of work not dreamed of in non-continental armies. The compulsory service has done away with the long-service non-commissioned officer, who was the drill-master for the soldier and the mentor for the young officer, as is still the case in the British army. All this—the drilling, education of the soldier, the whole detail of the inner service—now rests on the shoulders of the subaltern officers. Besides creating out of the raw recruit in a short time a serviceable soldier, teaching him to shoot and to ride, the officer has to be his own schoolmaster and teach the common soldier reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, etc., and the elements of the duties and rights of a citizen. The more intelligent of the troops are taught to scout, read maps, and survey. The average work-hours of an officer (not counting the exceptionally early rising hour of four o'clock in time of manœuvres) are from six a. m. to noon and from two to five p. m., and in certain periods of the year till seven or eight in the evening. For months at a time the officer is on duty in barracks from five a. m. till seven p. m. with only one to two hours' respite at midday for dinner. Little wonder that he feels that he has well earned the rare holiday occasionally accorded him. If officers are frequently seen idling and loafing in Vienna, Prague, or provincial capitals it is because they come on short leave of absence from many points of the compass; each one, perhaps, only gets two such short

leaves in the year. The standard of duty, honour and devotion is very high, the mode of life simple, and the character of the men compares favourably with that of other services.

Officering in Austria is not a lucrative business, but luckily the officer's social status in no way depends upon the length of his purse—most of them are poor men with nothing more to live on than their scanty pay, which does not allow much margin for carousing and gambling. Of course there are among the officers, and particularly in certain crack regiments, a number of young noblemen whose means allow them more scope for extravagance and display, but these are rather the exception than the rule, and the work exacted from the young officers deters those who are not in earnest in their profession. The spirit of *camaraderie* and of *esprit de corps* (two words for which the English language contains no true equivalent) is still strong among the Austrian officers, those of the same grade addressing each other by the affectionate "thou" in the second person.

The rank of officer carries with it (even when in the reserve) a social status above that of the middle class and even above the civil officials, unless the family position of the latter is high. No difference can be made (once an officer is accepted) on the score of his parentage. He gets his education free, passes his examination, and his regimental pay is sufficient for his actual needs. He cannot, however, be appointed to a regiment without special acceptance by the entire corps of officers, which is decided by secret ballot. Anyone making an objection to a candidate

must state his reasons, which must be based on questions of honour, family or individual. An objection, for instance, could be raised against a man whose father had been punished by the law. A rejected candidate has the right to appeal to a Court of Honour, and can even appeal to the brigade commander, who must decide what must be done and whether it is permissible for him to apply for another regiment. Regimental expenses are kept low, except in some of the crack cavalry regiments. The regimental silver is provided, and it is a point of honour among the higher officers to check any sign of display. Some of the richer regiments keep packs of hounds, and the love of sport is common with all, though not all have the time in which to indulge it. Both in Austria and Hungary horse racing is a most popular form of amusement, and gambling (in private) is indulged in despite the official attitude. Great allowances must be made for the men who are condemned for long periods to garrison life in some small provincial town, where life is unbearably monotonous. The number of suicides is proportionately high in the army among the officers, this being due not only to the strain of head work, but to a mistaken sense of honour which makes men prefer death to facing any financial difficulty into which imprudence may have led them. Suicides among the rank and file of soldiers are also common, but it is not necessary to imagine them as victims of brutality, since the homesickness from which many of these peasants suffer is sufficient to account to a large extent for the phenomenon.

Marriage among the officers is regulated, as in Germany by strict consideration of ways and means, and the aspir-

ing bride must pass muster before she can be received into the army. A Court of Honour, if it is satisfied as to the means of the young couple, the honour of the lady and her family and their social status, will give permission. Only a certain number of officers are on the statutory list whose widows get pensions; others, if they marry, must contribute for a certain number of years to the fund before they can get on the list.

The practice of duelling is still common, and may even be ordered by the Court of Honour under pain of dismissal. The evils of the system and its advantages (which certainly exist) cannot be discussed here, as it is not peculiar to Austria-Hungary, but it may be said that the *morale* and high education of the officers and the growth of liberal and humane ideas are an increasing check on the abuse of the practice.

In spite of all this it is inevitable that the new democratic basis of the army should somewhat destroy the feeling of *camaraderie,* just as the nationalist propaganda undermines *esprit de corps.* It is inevitable that officers drawn from all social grades and different races should carry with them their social distinctions as well as their national prejudices and antagonisms. Every year a considerable number of officers hand in their resignations, and the difficulty of maintaining the military spirit and discipline is increased by the extent to which the military officers return to civil life and are subjected to a different kind of influence.

There are no less than eleven nationalities in the army: Germans, Magyars, Italians, Roumanians (each speaking

a different tongue) and the various Slav races, Czechs, Croatians, Servians, Poles, Ruthenians, Slovenes and Slovaks, speaking different forms of a Slavonic language. The tongue of command for all (in the common army) is German, but each regiment to a large extent speaks its own language, which is used perforce for purposes of instruction, since the average soldier understands only his own maternal tongue.

The position of the Emperor-King as Supreme Head (and not a figure-head) of the army is upheld by constitutional rights. Since the defeat at Mohacs in 1526 there has been no real Hungarian army, for the *Honved* is not a true army but a militia. Kossuth raised a revolutionary force in 1848, but the beginning of the present Hungarian army (that is, the Hungarian half of the Common army) was made in 1867, when the Emperor-King was constitutionally authorised to organise and command the army from both halves of his monarchy. It is necessary to appreciate this, because the Hungarian claim to a separate and individual army is thus shewn to be without historical foundation. The common army, with its Austrian and Hungarian regiments, is a fundamental principle of the dualist system, and is, in fact, essential to the union of the two countries.

The claim of the Hungarians that the Magyar language should be the word of command in Hungarian regiments thus seems to be without constitutional warrant. There must be one language of command, or the machine will be incapable of working as a whole and will be split in two. And as the language of command has always been Ger-

man, as over 58 per cent. of the army is Austrian (or at least non-Hungarian), and as the "War Lord" is a German-speaking monarch, it is reasonable to expect that German should continue to hold its place. Outside the larger question is the one of convenience and of national *amour propre*. As regards the former it is a genuine grievance that Hungarian regiments should be officered by men who do not speak the tongue of the soldiers. For the latter, the Hungarian officers, naturally wishing to seek the society of their co-nationals, complained that they were sent to any regiment save a Hungarian one and that this policy was adopted to denationlise them. Both difficulties are now being met by the expedient of quietly filling up the vacancies in Hungarian regiments with Hungarian officers, and in this matter it may be remembered that, as the Hungarians would not enter the army till after the reorganisation of 1867, the supply of officers was at first necessarily inadequate. This was particularly the case with the higher commands, which have also been made a ground for grievance. It was not possible, however, to find Hungarians with the requisite training and experience for these posts, and even to-day the only men with any practical experience of war operations or of the reorganisation period must of necessity be Austrians. A more reasonable grievance is the extent to which the royal family monopolise high commands. Although Bohemian statesmen have always recognised that one language of command is essential for the common army, they are inclined to follow the Hungarian lead in other matters. Their genuine and legitimate demand is that Bohemian officers should command

regiments recruited in their country, but the army is not a popular profession with better-class Czechs, who must pass through German military schools to qualify for it.

It is important to estimate how far the national and race jealousies could influence the troops in time of war. The corps of officers, despite these mutual jealousies, may be considered as sound. We have said already that politics are not allowed to interfere with their loyalty to their profession and its discipline. But the rank and file, drawn from such heterogeneous sources, though drilled with an appearance of complete discipline, must retain a powerful sense of nationality which their *esprit de corps* is not sufficient to dispel. In the past Austria has had serious difficulties of this character. The non-German regiments, when called upon to put down insurrections in Italy, Croatia, and Galicia in 1820 and 1840, gave considerable trouble, and when, after 1848, the nationalist revival became more marked, many of the troops which mutinied at Vienna were from regiments which had been considered perfectly reliable. In Italy several Italian battalions of Radetzky's army went over to the enemy at Cremona and Brescia, as well as entire garrisons elsewhere, some 20,000 men in all deserting the colours. Again in Italy, in 1859, the Austrian army shewed lack of enthusiasm, and at Magenta only twelve out of sixty-one thousand actually took part, while the attack by the Kintzel brigade failed chiefly because of the defection of the Sigismund (an Italian) regiment. The Croatian districts along the frontier being hostile, the Slavonic regiments had to be withdrawn and replaced by Germans and Hungarians. In

1866 in the Prussian campaign a large number of men allowed themselves to be captured without striking a blow, and at Aschaffenburg the Italian regiments, with bands playing, passed over to the enemy; while in Upper Silesia the famous Hungarian legion under Klapka was formed entirely from deserters from the Austrian army. During the Prague riots Czech troops refused to march against their fellow-countrymen, and a regiment of dragoons allowed themselves to be disarmed by the populace.

These historical instances are, however, somewhat discounted by the fact that since Sadowa the army has been entirely remodelled and is now subjected to great strictness of discipline, while the opening of the career of officer to men of all ranks and all races has been a powerful link between the rank and file and their commanders. On the other hand, national self-consciousness has immensely increased. In 1899 and 1900 Bohemian recruits had to be punished for answering the call in Czech, and we find the Czechs asking for their language to be used in Bohemian regiments as the language of instruction, while the Croats, who have secured the use of their native tongue for the *Domobranci* (their local territorial army) are quite ready to prefer a similar claim. It must of course be pointed out that the defection of troops usually took place when they were called upon to fight their own countrymen or (in the case of Slavs and Croats) their kinsmen. Such contingencies may not arise again, but the loyalty of the army to the dynasty is nevertheless the corner-stone of the Dual Monarchy, and the question is therefore a serious one for Austria-Hungary and still more for the Habsburgs.

The Emperor Francis Joseph is understood to be quite unyielding, therefore, in the matter of the word of command, which is not only the key to the situation, but is frankly admitted by some Hungarian leaders to involve a good deal more. He has expressed willingness to meet the Hungarians on such matters as ensigns, military facings and badges, and even the introduction of Magyar as the language of instruction in regiments where the Hungarian element predominates, but beyond this he declines to go. There can be little doubt that, as the Emperor is convinced, the granting of the double language of command would not only impair the efficiency of the army and infringe his rights as a constitutional monarch, but would pave the way for a military separation which must inevitably lead to the entire severance of the two countries.

In a country with such an extended frontier as Austria-Hungary, the question of fortifications used to be a serious one, but modern warfare has to a great extent reduced the value of such defences. In Alpine countries where there are only a few passes by which an invading army can enter, there are still important strategic points, and the most valuable of these for Austria are in the Tyrol and Carinthia, where two powerful groups of fortifications have recently been constructed. Cracow and Przemysl are fortified camps, but the old fortifications in various parts of the country are antiquated and useless. Pola, the naval station, is said to be a strong, well-fortified post, but its exposed position and the length of the line of communication between it and Austria or Hungary make it undoubtedly a vulnerable spot.

The Austro-Hungarian navy, though small, is maintained in a high state of efficiency and manned by a corps of officers among whom not only a high standard of education, but also excellent spirit and discipline prevails. Although Austria-Hungary has in Dalmatia a very extended seaboard, there is no reason for her to embark on a naval programme, even if she could afford to do so. Her trade is not sea-borne to the extent of needing protection, and the demands made upon the country for military protection absorb so large a share of the revenue as to leave little for hypothetical needs. In the event of conflict with Italy, for instance, the defence of the seaboard towns would be practically impossible, but to compete with the Italian navy is out of the question, and Austria must rely upon her army for security in the same way that Great Britain does upon her navy. It is a drawback for the Austrian navy that its recruiting must be done in the Dalmatian provinces, where the sympathies of the sea-faring people and their racial affinities are rather with the Italians than the Austrians.

CHAPTER XI

SOME INTERNAL PROBLEMS

First and foremost among the economic questions, as it is among the political questions of the day, is that which concerns the commercial Ausgleich between the two halves of the Dual Monarchy. Austrian industrialists, it must be noted, were anxious for a protective tariff at a time when Hungary still desired free trade, and the result of these counter interests was that, after the agreement of 1899, a low protective tariff was placed on textile and other industries, while raw material was practically free. The growth of tariff walls in Europe and America, however, caused an inevitable modification of this attitude, and it is well known that Great Britain alone has continued true to free-trade principles. In 1892 Austria-Hungary united with Germany, Italy, Belgium and Switzerland in commercial treaties for twelve years, the object being to secure for Central Europe a stable market, since industry was being crippled by the high tariff walls in America and Russia. The latter country joined this circle two years later, and Great Britain secured the same treatment by her "most favoured nation" treaty with Austria-Hungary. It was the conclusion of these agreements in 1903 that made necessary the arrangements on a fresh basis for foreign commerce, and the Liberal premier, Count Tisza, rather took the wind out of the sails of the extreme Independence

party by concluding new commercial treaties with Germany and Italy (which bind the country till 1919) without waiting for parliamentary consent to the Ausgleich.

We have already seen that this commercial Ausgleich, upon which the union of the two countries in all matters of trade and custom rests, was originally made for a period of ten years, after which it had to be renewed. The first period expired in 1877, was renewed in 1878, and promulgated in 1887 for a period of ten years, but since the expiration of that time parliamentary obstruction has prevented a fresh renewal, and the necessary arrangements are carried on by means of a provisional Ausgleich commanded by the Emperor-King, by virtue of certain constitutional rights. The question of foreign trade has, however, complicated matters. Treaties with foreign powers could not wait till the Hungarian parliamentary crisis was over, therefore these treaties were concluded on the supposition that, during the time covered by them, Austria and Hungary would continue to be one for commercial purposes. The Hungarian Independence party were not slow to perceive in this an opportunity for breaking away from the customs union without at once dislocating Hungarian foreign trade. Hungary requires time to build up the industries by which she hopes to render herself commercially independent of Austria, and this time is secured by the continuance of the foreign treaties, while simultaneously an opportunity presented itself for getting in the thin end of the wedge for commercial separation. Therefore at the end of May, 1906, a separate Hungarian tariff bill was laid before the Hungarian chamber, and

MARKET SCENE, BUDAPEST

although this bill is almost identical in form with the joint tariff voted by the Austrian parliament, it contains the germ of separation since it is a Hungarian and not a joint bill. This plan was intended to keep Hungarian hands free—for the Parliament need not renew the Ausgleich—without allowing Austria the excuse for retaliation. Shorn of all technical details it was an ingenious scheme whereby Hungary could obtain all the advantages of a customs union with Austria for another ten years without recognising the constitutional nature of that union. Austria is not, however, prepared to accept the rôle offered her, and the situation aroused so much alarm and indignation that in the early weeks of June, 1906, the various races and parties of Austria combined together for the first time to defend Austrian interests.

Broadly speaking, the only legitimate object of Hungary in pressing for an independent commercial existence, is that she may protect herself against Austria as against a foreign country, and to accomplish this it is the intention of Hungary to press forward the industrial development which is just beginning in a country hitherto mainly agricultural. To facilitate this, as we have seen already, the State is granting heavy subsidies, and has plunged into great expense to provide necessary communications. Although there is promise of industrial success in Hungary, under normal conditions, there is the possibility that to stimulate this development unduly by subsidies, taxation and protective tariffs will cost the country too dear (especially if it tends to produce more expensive and less well-made articles which could be made cheaper

and better in Austria) and may ruin Hungarian agriculture. Agriculture is still the staple of the country and is specially helped by the fertility of the soil and the proclivities of the people, and to sacrifice the markets of this agricultural population would be far from beneficial to the Hungarian nation. Englishmen who are at present striving in the interests of national physique and morale to get their population back to the land and to recreate agricultural England, cannot but watch with misgivings the tactics of the party in Hungary which is bent at all costs on artificially stimulating Hungarian industrialism.[1]

Austrians say that a tariff war with Hungary would drive them into the German system more surely than any pan-German propaganda, and an Austro-German Zollverein would suit the Austrian industrialists very well from certain points of view. Possibly it might not be palatable to the Czechs, and the suggestion is not one that at present comes within the range of practical politics, but, while Austrian and Hungarian experts deliberate on a possible new form of commercial Ausgleich, all these alternatives have been fully discussed, and in the agitation aroused throughout Austria by the Hungarian proposal it has become plain that Austria has more than one possible weapon for retaliation.

These complicated and technical questions as to commercial relations are in reality of equal importance with

[1]The surplus agricultural produce of Hungary, after she has fed her own people, amounts to some £40,000,000 worth a year, which goes to Austria. Can Hungary retain this market while building protected industries? Can she create a sufficient home market by artificially stimulated industrialism? In other words, can she live on her own fat, like a Polar bear?

the "language of command" or any other nationalist question now agitating Austria-Hungary. Indeed, as a State lives on its purse just as an army travels on its belly, the economic outlook and the question of commercial relations are the most important of all subjects. The object of all who support the principle of dualism is to shew that agreement can be arrived at, that the interests of the two countries are interwoven and not antagonistic, and that a solution of the problem could be reached with a little mutual forbearance.

There is indeed a strong case to be made out for the commercial unity of Austria-Hungary. Although the latter might prefer the liberty, as a separate territory, of making her own treaties for commerce and following out her design of industrial expansion by a boycott of Austrian goods, protective tariffs and government subsidies, yet she would find it difficult to replace a market to which three-fourths of her whole exports go and from which three-fourths of her imports come.

Her geographical position, added to the undeveloped condition of the countries which surround her (except Austria and Germany), would greatly increase her difficulties. Still, the Balkan states will continue to go forward, and Hungary may legitimately hope to capture a great deal of their trade. Despite her lack of ports she has the advantage of the great waterway of the Danube, but this advantage is discounted by the fact that the mouth of the river is in the Black Sea and belongs to Roumania. Altogether, taking into account the fact that Hungary is still an agricultural country, that her industrial progress can-

not be expected to be as phenomenal as that of Germany for instance (at a period when competition was less keen and the discovery of steam and electricity gave an enormous impetus), that Austria is by far her largest market and that she is handicapped by lack of ports from developing a sea-borne trade (Italy has the advantage here); taking all these things into consideration one is obliged to conclude that there is something hasty and premature about the demand for a separate commercial existence. One cannot see what tangible gains would accrue to compensate for the dangers run, and if there are to be no dangers—if Hungary is simply to follow the same policy as a separate state that she did as part of a dual one—then we must conclude that the present agitation is purely political. One thing is certain. The Austrians are now determined not to accept partition by degrees, such as would be implied by a gradual dissolution of the commercial bond. They are not prepared to consent to a policy like that by which it was recently declared that Ireland should have "Home Rule by Instalments."

Although Austria is an industrial country *in esse* and Hungary *in posse,* both continue to expend large sums of money on agriculture. The governments have state training and experimental institutes, stud farms, and organisations for supervising land cultivation. The State breeding of horses is a large and also a remunerative business in both countries, but the total of expenditure on these departments far exceeds the actual revenue. In Austria the Ministry of Agriculture spends £833,000 yearly, while the direct income from the departments is £75,000.

STREET AND MARKET, SARAJEVO, BOSNIA

The conditions of industrial life in Austria are regulated by a code dating from 1883. As in Great Britain, the laws regulating life and labour originated in the humanitarian movement for the protection of child workers who were so terribly exploited at the commencement of the industrial era. The Austrian code closely resembles that of Germany, but is dissimilar in one respect, that it sets a definite limit to the hours of work, which may not exceed eleven, except in the case of overtime paid for directly to the workmen. Children may not be employed in factories or mines under the age of fourteen, but they may begin industrial work of other kinds at twelve. The age is lower than in Germany, where thirteen is fixed and even later unless the required educational standard is passed. Women are protected by legislation similar to that in Germany and France. Hungary presents no special features in labour legislation, except that there is, at present, no time limit to adult labour. Factory and mine inspection was established in 1893, but is not yet systematically carried out. The German and Austrian method of compulsory insurance against sickness or accident is in force, but the employer is only liable in case of criminal neglect. A Bill providing for fuller insurance against sickness and old age is now before the Hungarian house, but is denounced by the Labour party as worse than useless. There are extraneous circumstances, not so prominent in the German Empire, which must also be taken into consideration in judging of the condition of the people.

First and foremost comes the influence of the Church

on daily life. One of the most striking features of modern Austrian political life has been the growing antagonism to the Roman Catholic Church and the Clerical party. It is almost impossible to describe the various phases of this revolt and the forms which it is taking in various parts of the monarchy, but it is perhaps best explained as the struggle of nationalism against Catholicism, the nationalism in this case being many-headed. By the concordat of 1855 the House of Habsburg handed over to the Church a vast range of power and responsibility. Education was altogether in priestly hands, but an even more potent weapon was the entire control of certain relations of life, such as marriage, which could not be contracted without the permission of the Church. Moreover, the wealth and power of the Church, which had grown up during many centuries, gave her a preponderating influence in affairs of State.

The abrogation of the concordat in 1875 at once changed the status of the Church. It was rendered necessary by the growing liberalism of the country, which demanded fresh marriage laws, and a more democratic form of education. At the same time the clerical endowments, which are of great value, were placed under civil control, thus depriving the Church of a privilege for which she had contended since the early days of the Holy Roman Empire. The Church had always been regarded as the "Sentinel" of the Habsburgs, the most faithful Catholic family in Europe, but the attitude which Francis Joseph was obliged to take in this matter called down the strongest remonstrance from the Pope. A few years

later the Triple Alliance still further disturbed the old relations between Rome and the Habsburgs. Catholicism, which claims eighty per cent. of the total population of Austria and fifty-one per cent. in Hungary, has now assumed a new significance as a political force. The extreme German nationalist party, attracted by the *Los von Rom* movement, and agitating for a political union with Germany, watches with distrust any action of the clericals, and even refuses the name of German to a professed Roman Catholic.

The "Los von Rom" movement, closely allied with the pan-German propaganda which must be discussed in a subsequent chapter, is intrinsically political rather than religious. Schoenerer, the leader of the extreme German nationalist party, gave the first impulse to it in Austria by exhorting his fellow-countrymen to "break the chains which bind us to a Church hostile to Germanism." He then organised an anti-Catholic campaign, which was assisted by German pastors from across the frontier, but the proceedings were so obviously of a political rather than a religious character that the Austrian Government interfered, as it was well entitled to do by the treasonable character of the speeches. It is probable that without German clerical aid the whole movement would have been much less noticeable, and at the present time Schoenerer, its leader, is discredited as a politician. The Catholic party in Austria has more than once appealed to the Government to protect their religion against the attacks on it which are so largely engineered and financed in Germany. The Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir

to the throne, has placed himself at the head of the Catholic School Association (a very powerful and wealthy organisation) and has said that the "Los von Rom" movement "cannot be too strongly suppressed." As a matter of fact, from the religious standpoint the result has not been very serious; probably not more than twenty thousand people having seceded from the Church. The political consequences are more striking, but the Austrian Government has not seen its way to adopting any stern repressive measures, probably with the wise conviction that to do so would advertise the movement even more widely and make it still more attractive. The result of this tolerant attitude is that the attempt to Protestantise Austria has failed, but in failing has accomplished far-reaching changes in the political world. It has caused a serious breach among the Austrian Germans, who are as much divided from each other by the anti-Catholic movement as they are by nationalist aspirations from the Czechs or Italians. The moderate Catholic Germans are pro-Slav, while the (Catholic) Christian Socialists are pre-eminently anti-Semitic. The only non-Catholic party is that of the pan-Germans, but the Catholics are divided by their opinions as to the proper policy towards the Slavs, as well as by their federalist or centralist convictions and by their leaning towards clericalism or Liberalism.

Nevertheless the Catholic party, as such, continues to be a strong one, and this politico-religious movement of *Los von Rom* is the first real shake that has been given to its position. The Church, albeit she has lost many of her privileges, remains both rich and powerful, and is

a considerable landowner. The wealth of some of her prelates is very great, and the influence of the Church in all grades of society cannot be discounted.

Naturally, the extent to which the priest dominates the family and daily life varies in different parts of the country, but it is considerably greater in Austria (and in some parts of Hungary) than in any other modern Catholic country, save, perhaps, Ireland. The growth of German liberalism has affected the middle and working classes in the towns, but the aristocracy and agricultural peasants are under priestly influence to a great extent. In the upper classes we have seen the effect in stereotyping society and limiting the mental outlook. The Church in Austria has never stood for progress. In the lower ranks of life we find the Church responsible for a variety of social phenomena generally marking (as in Ireland) a stage of mental development in which reason is subordinated to instinct and both are warped by superstition. In those parts of the Austrian lands where the Ruthenian, Serbo-Croatian, or Servian element is found there is a keen conflict between the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox communities, a religious warfare which is still further complicated in Bosnia-Herzegovina by the duplication of sects.

The perception that the Church was not taking sufficient part in the forward humanitarian and social movements of modern times has led quite recently to the formation in Austria of a young Catholic party, including some priests and a number of promising young men. Their movement is as yet only in its infancy, but it should

enlist the sympathy of all patriotic Austrian Catholics, since it is intended to initiate a Catholic national democratic party—that is, to gather together all that is best in the religious, national, and social world of politics.

The position occupied by the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary is somewhat different to that in Austria from the political point of view, since it is essentially nationalist and even a zealous propagandist of Magyar aims and ideals. Throughout Hungary the influence of the Church is very great (although less than ten millions out of the nineteen belong to it), and its power has not been impaired by such reverses as have been meted out to Catholic Austria. As a national Church the Roman Catholics have a plainer task in Hungary than in Austria. They are opposed to racial differences within the kingdom, and to the revival or retention of other languages than that of the Magyars. In the Slovak country, where a determined effort is being made to resist Magyarisation and retain the Slav language, the Magyar clergy are the instruments of a strong anti-Slav organisation. Priests are eligible throughout Hungary as deputies, and in many country districts they are the most suitable candidates. But the Magyar bishops will never give the necessary sanction to a Slav candidate, and the result is that among the numerous priests in the Diet of Budapest few are other than Magyar in sentiments, and fewer still in origin. The Church is a very considerable landowner in Hungary, and, moreover, a great portion of the land owned by her is inalienable. Her most serious difficulty will probably arise eventually from the rising Evangelicanism which has

its stronghold in Transylvania. Of the religious confusion in that country we have already spoken, and it may be imagined that if Catholicism in Hungary is synonymous with Nationalism, so that it does not rouse opposition from the Magyar Protestants, it is strenuously opposed on obvious grounds by those churches whose members belong to the smaller nations. Also it is evident that their national pride and affinities will lead the Protestant Germans of Hungary to oppose any suggestion of separation which would sever the connection of Hungary with German Austria.

Now, as in the past, the religious and political questions are closely interwoven, and it is merely an historical continuation which puts the Roman Catholic Church in opposition to Germanism in Austria and to the policy of generosity to the smaller nations in Hungary.

CHAPTER XII

PAN-GERMANISM

THE contest between Teuton and Slav is, as we have seen already, no new one. It has been the *motif*, not always clearly marked but never altogether absent, of a series of struggles changing in fortune as in character, sometimes political, sometimes religious, but always capable of being resolved into the simple constituents of race antagonism which have made up most of the history of Central and Eastern Europe. It is true that the various branches of the Slavs have been far from loyal to their racial ties, and have resented encroachments by each other as by an alien race, but in the main the history of Central and Eastern Europe is the history of the Slav struggle for independence against the Teuton on the west and the Turk on the east. To-day, in the remarkable renaissance of the scattered Slav nations it is natural that one should find an attempt to resuscitate the racial as well as the national feelings, and pan-Slavism may well be considered as a possible factor in European development. On the other hand, there is the great pan-German movement, not an attempt (like that of the Slavs) to revive and regain, but a more organised and definite effort to hold for Germany what Germans have gained for themselves. Between these two great currents which find their meeting place in the whirlpool of the Habsburg realm lies Hungary, by some

strange fate isolated, foreign, apart—the cuckoo in the robin's nest of Slav Europe, but equally the barrier against German expansion eastwards.

No attempt to understand the present position of Austria-Hungary would be complete without some appreciation of these two great currents in the political and national evolution of the Slav and Teuton. The reader of this book is already aware that the subjects of the Habsburgs are predominantly Slav, but that at the same time the civilisation, the government, and the language of a considerable part of Austria is German; that the tie with Germany is a close one, and that a proportion, at all events, of the population is enthusiastically and patriotically German in its sympathies without ceasing to be Austrian. There is, however, an extreme section which disclaims all Austrian nationality, refers openly to Germany as its fatherland, and proclaims its belief that only under the Hohenzollerns will Austria find peace and progress. Before describing the tenets of this section further we must try briefly to define that pan-Germanic movement which has been their inspiration.

It is always difficult to trace the actual origin and growth of any movement which is not precise and definite, and it must be premised that, although there is no lack of precision about certain sections of the pan-Germans and their views, yet as a whole the movement is somewhat indefinite. Taken in its broadest sense it is an attempt to strengthen "Deutschthum" throughout the world and to bind all Germans by ties of patriotism as well as race to the Fatherland. The Teutonic countries of Europe, which by a some-

what tortuous process of reasoning are expected to regard the modern German empire as their fatherland, include the Low-German countries (Holland and Belgium) Switzerland, and Scandinavia. It is obvious that only the wildest of Chauvinist dreamers would imagine the actual annexation of all these to Germany as possible, nor is actual warfare in the programme of the pan-Germans, who are Irredentists rather than Chauvinists. It is the civilisation of Germany, the ties of intellect and race, by virtue of which these countries are to be reclaimed and to form one day a vast German confederacy.

Besides countries originally Teutonic in origin, there are many in which this indefatigable race has formed colonies and settlements and where, as in Bohemia, they at one time almost displaced the original inhabitants. Of late years the enormous growth and increasing energy of the German empire has driven her into a fresh expansion overseas, and the mission of pan-Germanism in its rational form is to link up these scattered units, and by maintaining in them the sentiment of nationality, preserve them as the instruments and apostles of *Deutschthum*.

The pan-Germanic sphere of activity is therefore practically world-wide. It covers Europe—Scandinavia, Denmark, the Baltic provinces, Bohemia, Austria, the Tyrol, parts of Hungary, the Balkan states, Turkey in Europe, Switzerland, Holland, and Belgium. Besides these there is a pan-Germanic propaganda in Asia Minor and in South Africa, where an attempt has been made to establish ties of kinship with the Boers as "Low Germans." In the American continent there are to be seen at work two dis-

tinct phases of pan-Germanic work, one which aims at preserving the national sentiment of the individual who is being rapidly assimilated by the United States, and the other in South America, where a genuine colonisation policy is being successfully pursued. There are, besides these, a vast number of Germans distributed throughout the whole civilised world, engaged usually in commerce or in educational work, particularly in Russia, and it is safe to say that in these isolated units a strong sentiment is aroused by the pan-Germanic ideals. The spectacle of so many of the *fine fleur* of the fatherland being forced by economic pressure to seek their fortunes in other countries and there being assimilated has naturally been a bitter one to patriotic Germans, but even before this latest phase (which can only be said to date from the industrial evolution of Germany) there already existed the germ of the Pan-German propaganda. As early as 1853 Paul de Lagarde (a curious name for the chief saint of the pan-German cult!) was urging that the Germanic peoples should control the Danube, colonise Asia Minor, and so find their way to the East. This is not the history of the pan-Germanic movement, merely an attempt to define its scope, so that we may appreciate its bearing upon Austria-Hungary, and it is impossible to trace the growth of the idea or to explain the attitude of its various protagonists. It is sufficient to note that at one period it met with a considerable degree of official encouragement and that the Emperor William II gave it his *imprimatur* in the following speech, made in 1896, the year of the Jameson Raid. He said: "Out of the German empire a world empire has arisen. Everywhere

in all parts of the earth thousands of our countrymen reside. German riches, German knowledge, German activity make their way across the ocean. The value of German possessions on the seas is some thousands of millions. Gentlemen, the serious duty devolves on you to help me to link this Greater German Empire close to the fatherland, by helping me, in complete unity, to fulfil my duty also towards the Germans in foreign parts."

This pronouncement, be it noted, is in the nature of an exhortation and a pious aspiration. No policy is chalked out, no specal method indicated. The aim itself is expressed in language which may be interpreted according to the idiosyncrasies of the hearer, and might refer to a mere cultural and moral empire or to a more tangible political one. Naturally the ruler of a state at peace with the world at that moment was not likely to give offence to friendly governments by the suggestion that Germans domiciled in foreign countries were to be practically or politically "gathered in."

There are now two aspects of pan-Germanism, sufficiently broad in their scope to win the suffrages of the most diverse schools of thought and unite them in a common aim. The first and rational interpretation is, as we have already indicated, that which is concerned with *Deutschthum* as a cultural and moral influence and seeks to perpetuate the tie of Germans with their fatherland and to glorify the race and empire by the spread of Germanic civilisation. The second, and far more definite and active propaganda, sees in every German colony or settlement (much more in old Teutonic countries) a part of a future

confederacy of all the Germans. We shall see shortly by what means this propaganda is disseminated, but first it must be recorded that the pan-Germanic leagues began their active work at a time when the tide, which had borne their race successfully for so long, seemed to be actually turning.

One of the singularities of the German character, so full of the highest virtues and most sterling qualities, is the ease with which the individual lends himself to assimilation. This has become most noticeable in the United States, where it is estimated that there are now over eleven million Germans, of whom some eight millions were born in the country. Despite the retention in certain quarters of certain towns of characteristic features in German social life, despite an attempt to keep up German schools and clubs and the propaganda of the pan-Germans, it is undeniable that these people in the second generation, if not in the first, become American in sympathy, in habit, and even in intellectual outlook. Politically their conversion does not require more than a few years, and the tradition of Prussian discipline is replaced by the most blatant form of democratic fervour. It was a German immigrant who, thumping the table at a stump meeting, shouted: "America—my country—right or wrong!"

But even nearer home the emigrant German is inclined to lose his nationality. It is estimated that over two millions are now settled in Russia, and in parts attempts have been made to preserve their national characteristics through the medium of schools, language, and customs. The success of the attempt may be gauged by the fact that in all

Russia there are now but two German schools—one at Helsingfors and one at Riga. The policy of Germanisation in the eastern provinces of Prussia (which are Slav in population) has been rigorously pursued. The use of Polish is forbidden, letters addressed in that language will not be forwarded, and all Polish institutions are repressed. There is a large settlement fund for buying up land and settling German peasants on it, by which it was hoped to replace the agricultural population by true Teutons, but neither this nor any other measure has been at all successful. The Poles continue to increase and are a thorn in the side of the German empire.[1] At the same time a counter-movement of Russification has been going on in the Baltic provinces which owed their civilisation to German sources and were largely colonised by Germans. There is still a considerable proportion of Germans among the intellectual classes, the prominent men have German names, and there are theatres and newspapers which use the German language. Since 1881 the policy of Russia has been to denationalise these Germans as well as all non-Russian peoples throughout the empire, and accordingly privileges accorded to German-speaking communities and corporations have been curtailed and cancelled. The University

[1] Prince von Bülow has declared that the Polish question is the most vitally important in German home politics. He favored a return to the most rigorous policy of repressing Polish, which, however, is deprecated by many people who say it will put German education in the wrong and furnish Polish agitators with an effective weapon. In August, 1906, the Prussian minister of education ordered German to be used for prayers and religious instruction, but the children, instigated by their parents, refused to say the Lord's prayer in German, and their obedience cannot be enforced. At the time of writing the struggle continues.

PEASANT WEDDING, GALICIA

ST. BARBARA CHURCH, CRACOW

of Dorpat, founded in 1630 and an ancient centre of German culture, has been deprived of its autonomy and Russianised, marriages between Protestants and members of the Russian Church are forbidden, and the Russian language is compulsory in the law-courts. Even the German names of towns are being once more Slavicised. This is a heavy blow to German *amour propre,* for she has always prided herself on having been the guiding star of Russian civilisation, and she was the centre of learning and culture while Russia was still a congeries of half-savage tribes. Therefore the Russo-German situation (despite the dictum of Bismarck that friendship was essential between the two nations) is not without its bitter pills, but this is a side of the question to be referred to later.

To return to the emigrant German. In France, where there is an estimated German population of 100,000, there are only two elementary schools, but this must not be taken too seriously, since the children of Germans both in France and England can be educated in their home-land. Nevertheless, a large proportion of those domiciled in England are educated there. In the Tyrol, where there is a partially Teutonic original population, a curious historic development has alienated sympathy from Germany. The Germans have annexed William Tell as one of their national heroes, but as a matter of fact he represented an entirely different phase of national manifestation. The Tyrolese are intensely averse to any form of German domination, and their resistance to the Bavarians was as desperate as to the French. At the present time Italian influence and language are slowly but steadily gaining ground

in the Tyrol. The Catholic priesthood, it must be noted, being opposed to German liberal ideas (and especially to German socialism, which is almost invariably indifferent to religion), is helping in the Tyrol, as in Moravia and Bohemia, to undermine the German schools. In other of the Austrian lands, in Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, a despised, almost illiterate and forgotten tongue has been successfully revived as a rival to the great German language. The Slovenes, having since 1882 secured a majority in their diet in Carniola, have proceeded to declare Slovenian the "customary" language and to found a Slovene gymnasium at Laibach. In Carinthia even towns with a majority of German-speaking inhabitants are compelled to use Slovenian in official and public life. The story of the language and racial struggle in Bohemia has been told elsewhere. The tide has turned in this country more than in any other. In Switzerland the most casual tourist who revisits the country may notice the increase of the French-speaking element compared to the German, and despite the enormous economic pressure on the Low Countries a similar process is at work there. In short, Germany has been losing every day, by small but steady instalments, drops of that precious fluid of national life which, conserved in the hearts of loyal Germans throughout the world, would soon make this prolific and enterprising race the true cosmopolitan, and would render *Deutschthum* the most potent force in world history. It is estimated that twenty-one millions of German-speaking people live in Europe outside the German empire.

The pan-Germanic movement cannot be said to be or-

ganised into a single central body, although there is one called the Pan-Germanic League. It is rather the guiding principle of a number of societies and associations dealing with various phases of German expansion. The Pan-Germanic League naturally has its headquarters at Berlin, and its organ is the *Alldeutsche Blätter*. The League dates the beginning of its success to a reorganisation in 1894 and the leadership of Professor Hasse, and in 1903 it numbered some twenty thousand subscribing members. An example of the nature of its work may be given in the journey, in 1905, of its secretary to South Africa, where he personally visited all the German settlements, interviewed the Dutch leaders, and afterwards published a clever book in which a strong case was made out for the extension of Germany's influence in South Africa. Besides the main body, however, there are at least fifty associations affiliated with it. Of these the most important is the General School Association for the preservation of *Deutschthum* abroad. The society is peculiarly interesting in regard to its work in Austria-Hungary, where it was first started as an answer to the Badeni language ordinances and what was considered the surrender to the Slavs.

We have already seen that in Hungary all the subject races are expected to fall in with the Magyar ideas and adopt their scheme for a united Hungarian nation. Many of the German settlers in Hungary, who from time immemorial had enjoyed complete autonomy or special privileges, had thrown in their lot with the Magyars in the time of war and fought against Austria. There are three divisions of these German settlers, the Zip towns of the Car-

pathian slopes, the Swabians in the south, and the Saxons of Transylvania. The Swabians (who are Catholics) and the Zips were some of the most obstinate revolutionaries of 1848. Now they are threatened with absorption and the loss of their national idiosyncrasies. The assimilative process has done this to a great extent for Germans dwelling among the Magyars, but the independent settlements were peculiarly tenacious of their nationality, which, in time past, had set them apart and secured them a special position in the country. The Magyars refused to allow the intervention of the School Association through Vienna, and the Berlin Society was therefore obliged to subsidise private German schools to carry on the work. The manifesto which accompanied this effort was not calculated to pour oil on troubled waters or to smooth the path of German educationists among the proud Magyars. It called on "the forty million who in Germany enjoy all the blessings of German culture to come to the rescue . . . wherever modern methods of barbarism dare to trample upon German education." But the Magyars will not tolerate any disruptive influence, and on this point are absolutely united.

Other associations connected with pan-Germanism which are specially designed to rescue *Deutschthum* in Austria are the German League in Bohemia, the German Bohemian Forest League, the German People's Bank in Bohemia, the German League in north and south Moravia, the South "Mark" Association and People's Savings Bank at Grätz, the Ulrich Miners' League, Germanic League in Vienna, German National Association in Austria, the East

"Mark" Self-Help Association, the German People's Union in South Tyrol, and others of a similar character. There are a great number of economic associations whose work is directly helpful to pan-Germanism, besides certain religious or semi-religious societies doing pan-German work. The "Odin," a politico-religious society having headquarters at Munich, devotes itself to a Protestant-nationalist propaganda in Austria. The character of its work may be judged from the fact that the distribution of its official organ is prohibited in Austria, but it still has a considerable circulation, while it indemnifies itself by the dissemination of treasonable postcards. The Gustav-Adolf and the Evangelical Protestant missions are both active in Austria and took a prominent part in the semi-political "Los von Rom" movement, but there is a counterbalance in the shape of a vigorous Catholic German Society, the St. Raphael, which supports German nationality on Catholic lines. A large amount of money is expended annually in Austria and the Austrian "lands" in supporting pan-German work. In Bohemia there is a heavily subsidised German press keeping alive the German sentiment, while in Vienna a number of the papers (including the influential *Neue Freie Presse*) are notorious for their advocacy of German interests. The connection between the press of Vienna and the Foreign Office (Press-bureau) at Berlin is extremely intimate, but the pan-Germans, who are not officially recognised, have their own methods of influencing the press.

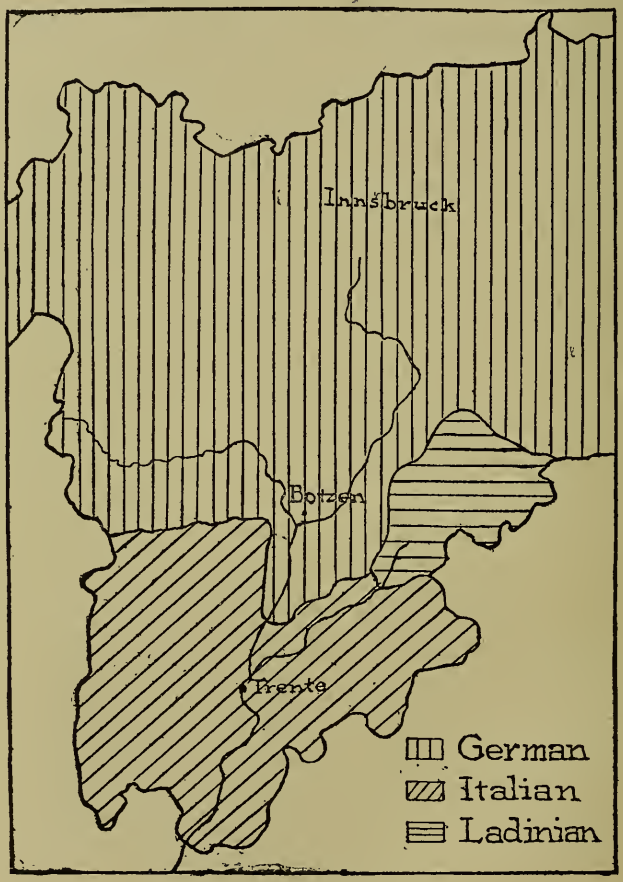
In 1899 the Pan-German League issued a pamphlet which, although proscribed in Austria, was widely cir-

culated. This pamphlet is interesting because it illustrates the extreme view of the pan-German *rôle* when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy shall no longer succeed in holding together. The ideal set forth is the consolidation of the Germanic peoples from the Baltic to the Adriatic in one vast German confederation under the Hohenzollern emperor (it is freely declared by pan-Germans in Austria that the Habsburg period is over and that the Hohenzollerns must succeed them). This vast confederation will include a kingdom of Austria (Upper and Lower Austria, Carinthia, and Carniola), under a Hohenzollern prince; a "South Mark," consisting of the southern duchies, Salzburg and the Tyrol going to Bavaria; and a strategic frontier to cover the Adriatic and coast towns, which will be the base of a German Mediterranean fleet. Bohemia will be made a present to Saxony, who must assimilate the four and a half million Czechs as best she may, while Moravia and Silesia, with two million Czechs and half a million Poles, will be the share of Prussia. It may be noted that history repeats itself. The pan-Germans have revived the nomenclature of an early Teutonic empire. Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein are the "North Mark," Austria the "East Mark," the southern "lands" of Austria the "South Mark." Holland and Belgium presumably are to be the "West Mark" in this future empire of all the Germans. Thus did Napoleon, in a similar dream of reviving an empire beside which that of Charlemagne would have been a mushroom, recall the name of Illyria and reshape for himself a realm of continental magnitude, united, like that of Rome, by a code of universal law. The pan-

Germanic dream as demonstrated in this pamphlet is only valuable because it reveals at once the weak spot in any scheme of German expansion in Europe.

At present Germany has a population which is 94 per cent. Teutonic. But she has already, as we have seen, considerable trouble with that minority of Slav blood found in her northeastern corner. Prussia, it has been said already, was originally entirely Slav in population. The Mark of Brandenburg grew by conquest over Slavs, and Prussia enlarged her boundaries at the expense of Poland. Even to-day Slav is spoken at the gates of Berlin, for there are colonies of Sorabes, or Sorbs, in Lusatia who are said to be kin to the Slavs of Southern Europe. The tenacity of the Slav race feeling is one of the most striking phenomena in European history. If the pan-German scheme were realised (even with the elimination of Bukowina, Galicia, and Dalmatia, which is proposed), the percentage of Germans in the reorganised empire would be reduced to eighty-four. Moreover, this settlement would leave out in the cold the Germans of Hungary, who, with the Magyars and Roumans, would be left to work out their own salvation. The truth is, of course, that no political rearrangement which is geographically possible would restore the Germans to their fatherland, nor is it possible to attempt a political partition on an ethnographic basis. To take the various partitions separately: The Czechs would eat up Saxony before Saxony could get her teeth in them, for the public opinion of Europe would not tolerate the ruthless annihilation of an earlier epoch which crippled them in the past, and the Czechs are incontestably the more

aggressive of the two peoples. The Poles of Silesia and the Moravians of various races would help to turn the



RACES IN THE TYROL

tide against Prussianisation, and nothing but extermination could root out their invincible conservatism and patriotism. Moravia is spoken of frequently as if she had little

identity, but she preserved the independence of her Estates even through a religious persecution which enslaved the best part of Europe for a time. Take the Tyrol again—she will have none of Bavaria, now as in the past. The Swiss are partly German in culture, but they have no sympathy with German imperialism. Will Italy look on unmoved while Germany advances to the southern slope of the Alps? The Trentino, commanding the plains of Lombardy, will not be surrendered to *Deutschthum* without a struggle, and both this region and Trieste are ardently devoted to the cause of *Italia irredenta.*

The strongest centre of pan-Germanism is in Austria proper. Here, as nowhere else, it is a definite political propaganda and party. In Germany it has no such position. There are no "pan-German" members, no recognised party, no elections fought on Pan-German principles. This is because within the German empire there can be no actual party or political aspect of pan-Germanism, which presents itself to the public as a national and not a political cult. If a man is labelled as a pronounced Pan-German he will still belong to one or other of the recognised political parties, and his pan-Germanism is a kind of extra polish. In Austria it is different. The struggle against the Slav, in which the German element appeared to have emerged victorious, has been revived. The moderate Austrian party, including many Catholic Germans, are Slavophil. They were not opposed to the rise of the Czechs and regarded the renascence of the Slavs generally as a counterpoise to the growth of the German free-thinking liberal element. A section (and a considerable one) of

the German-Austrians regarded the granting of language and other privileges to the Slavs as the beginning of a Slav hegemony in Austria, whereby Germans, once the dominant race, would have to take a lower place. Racial rather than national pride and the desire to participate in German greatness were the keynotes of this movement, which found its most vigorous expression in the "Los von Rom" agitation already described.

The pan-German associations were active agents in this movement. The religious bodies abused their privileges by mixing treason to the Austrian emperor with their attempts to convert from Roman Catholicism, and the deputy Wolf, the co-partner with Schoenerer in leading the agitation, frankly admitted that the sinews of war came from Germany. The doctrine preached then (and by no means abandoned now) is that the Germans in Austria, in order to combat the Slav danger, must turn to Germany for support, must make political and commercial union with the fatherland, and must renounce their allegiance to a dynasty which is allied with Catholicism and favours the Slavs. This propaganda has spread, and at the last election enabled the pan-German party to capture two seats from the Catholic Christian Socialists, the natural inference being that the working class is becoming more and more infected with German socialism, which is indifferent to religion.

Although Pan-Germanism in Austria is anti-Austrian and anti-dynastic, it has not been repressed with the severity that might have been expected. The wisdom of this policy will be discussed later. No scruples in this respect have,

however, deterred the Magyars, and since 1902 a campaign has been instituted in Hungary against the Pan-German press, in which editors have been imprisoned and even deported. Other measures have been resorted to which have damaged, not only the Pan-Germanic work, but the legitimate and historic position of the German Hungarians, long settled in the country. Pan-Germans would like to see the Berlin government putting gentle pressure on Budapest, but the fact is that these Pan-Germanic excursions are proving far from convenient and are not to be smiled on officially.

The irresponsibility of political idealists cannot be accepted by a serious German government, which may use the propaganda at times but does not wish to be identified with or compromised by it. Therefore Hungary may successfully keep her pan-Germans in order, but the movement is a serious factor in Austrian politics, and, in a subsequent chapter, its further growth and influence must be taken into consideration.

CHAPTER XIII

PAN-SLAVISM

When we turn to the second great racial movement, the pan-Slavonic, we find at once a great difference both in the character and methods by which it is advanced. There is, in the first place, no focussing point, no fatherland, for the attempt made at various epochs to place Russia at the head of a Slav hegemony is naturally not altogether acceptable to other branches of the Slav race, who were advanced and civilised before "Holy Russia" had emerged from the status of a semi-barbarous, semi-Oriental vassal state of the Great Horde. Moreover, while the German Reformation has provided the pan-Germans with a rallying point at once national and religious, the Slavs are violently severed by the two Churches of East and West, between whom there is a fiercer rivalry than can divide even Catholic and Protestant.

Nevertheless, the pan-Slavonic movement is not only of respectable antiquity, but has considerable importance in the polity of modern European states. The Slav race, or rather races, are numerically predominant in Eastern Europe, their share of the continent being fairly compact except for the great wedge of Hungary. It must be remembered that the countries of Russia, East Prussia, Bohemia, Galicia, the whole of the Balkan countries, European Turkey to a large extent, Montenegro, Croatia,

Dalmatia, and the greater part of the Austrian "lands" are either altogether or preponderatingly Slav, not only in race but in character and feeling. At the end of the eighteenth century there were only three independent Slav states —only two over which some alien dynasty was not ruling. These three were the great empire of Russia, the tiny principality of Montenegro, and the small republic of Ragusa. But, as we have seen, the deprivation of national rights, even the imposition of an alien language, did not deprive the Slav of his birthright, and at the beginning of the twentieth century we have four important Slav states and an extraordinary revival of nationalism among the other branches of the race. At this auspicious moment comes the terrible upheaval in the Russian empire which, by breaking into anarchy, destroys the dreams of those pan-Slavists who had hoped to find in her the protagonist of a universal Slav revival.

Although the Slav peoples settled all over Central and Eastern Europe, from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and from the Oder eastwards, yet their expansion was not without geographical elements of disunion. Their natural line of expansion was across the great plains of Southern Russia and on into the well-watered plateaux of North Germany, but when their migrations took them further south, following the Danube first south and then east, they became involved in the geographical confusion of this part of Europe. Different characteristics developed among the Balkan mountains to those found in the fertile, well-watered Bohemian country, and as an entirely fresh set of problems was presented to each section of the race, so they

developed on different lines. The Germanic tribes, later the German states and principalities (of which there were no fewer than several hundred shortly before the period of amalgamation) were homogeneous compared to these Slav states, and yet there is evidence that from an early age an attempt was made to keep up the feeling of kinship.

The pan-Slavic political union, of the period which immediately precedes the Magyar invasion, was broken up by that foreign incursion into Slav countries, and by the blow struck at the heart of the Slav world which then beat in Moravia. After this time no actual political grouping of all the scattered Slavs was ever again possible, but the rise to greatness, first of Bohemia and then of Poland, gathered different sections together for a time into mighty Slav empires. At the period of the modern Slav renascence no such development seems likely or possible. Still, while it is true that pan-Slavism has no rallying point, no common language (more of this hereafter), and no religion, culture, or literature in common, yet the feeling of kinship between the Slav peoples is a real one, and it is the appreciation of this fact that has stimulated the pan-Germanists to such strenuous efforts in Central Europe.

The pan-Slavist movement is not, as is sometimes supposed, the result of the Czech and other Slav revivals, but was in existence a considerable time ago. Not long after the downfall of Bohemia in 1620, we find the Polish ambassador to Peter the Great dwelling upon the racial unity of the Slav peoples and predicting a third epoch of Slav history (following on those of prosperity and adversity) in which all the branches of the race shall unite " in frater-

nal love, and return to their first state of union." This language is closely followed by the pan-Slavist Czech writers of the middle of last century. "We are a young people," said Kollar. "We know what the other peoples have done, but no one can yet divine what we shall one day be in the book of humanity. . . . A hundred years hence the Slav life, like a deluge, will spread its power in every quarter."

After 1848 the reviving energy of the Slavs, although less organised than that of the Hungarians, continued to gain ground, and three sections of the race in subjection developed independently of each other. These were the Poles, Czechs, and Croats. The eternal hope of all Poles to ultimately achieve the independence of their ancient kingdom found a centre at Cracow, where plots were hatched and plans discussed with the energy, eloquence, and futility so characteristic of Slav intrigue. The Czechs, a practical and sober variant on the Slav type, were chiefly absorbed, as we have seen, by an economic struggle, while the Croats began a literary and political movement of a revivalist character.

It cannot be said, despite the flowery speeches and writings of pan-Slavists, that the various subject races of Slavs played into each other's hands. In 1848 a conference of pan-Slavists was held, with a view to knitting up the ties of kinship, but it does not seem that any definite result was achieved, though the immediate consequence was the outbreak of riots between Czechs and Germans and the bombardment and reduction of Prague by Prince Windischgrätz. In 1862 the pan-Slavist agitation received fresh

impetus from the creation of a Bohemian Diet and from the growth of Czech liberty generally.

It is necessary at this point to touch on a much-debated question—the linguistic unity of the Slav peoples. The most diverse opinions on this subject are given by people well qualified to judge. It was a gibe of the Germans, thrown at the pan-Slavist congresses, that the delegates could none of them understand each other and were compelled to converse in German. On the other hand, it is contended that a knowledge of Serbo-Croat, one of the oldest forms, will carry one not only through the Balkan countries but in Russia, Poland, and Bohemia. M. Leger, who is enthusiastically Slavophil, does not lend his authority to this view. He describes a worthy Slovak, deceived by the bookmen of his own country, in hopeless difficulties with a Moscow *douanier,* with whom he had expected to communicate by virtue of their common Slav tongue.

There are at present three main groups of the Slav language, if we may be permitted to use that term for the root principle which obtains in Eastern and Central Europe. These three are Russian, Polish-Bohemian, and Serbo-Croat.[1] Each has its own history and literature. There are dialects, some older than the languages mentioned, such as the Slovak and Slovene, but they cannot be put quite on the same plane.

The source from which Christianity was received was a determining factor not only in the historical development of the Slav races but in the crystallisation of their various

[1] Bulgaria claims to have a distinct form and possesses an ancient literature, but, as is shewn later, it is in reality closely akin to the Serbo-Croat.

JAGELLON (UNIVERSITY) LIBRARY AT CRACOW.
STATUE OF COPERNICUS

dialects into modern languages. The beginning of the Christian era in Bohemia and Poland was not till the ninth century. The former country possessed legends of an earlier period and stories of half mythical heroes, and this foundation of a national literature was of service in later days. We have seen how the attempt to establish at once a national caligraphy was opposed by the Latin Church, and in fact, during the epoch which preceded the Hussite national revival, Latin was the literary tongue of Bohemia as it was of Poland. Vernacular literature, properly so called, began in Bohemia in the fifteenth century, in Poland (as in England) in the sixteenth, though translations of various portions of the Bible, hymns, sermons, and a liturgy in the Slav tongue were in existence in both countries considerably prior to this. Cracow University was founded in a humble form in 1364, Prague (in greater state) in 1348, and the influence of the literature of the Czechs, then at the height of their prosperity, was predominant in Poland, as in other Slav countries. Polish students formed one of the "nations" which voted in the University of Prague, but they also went to Padua and to Paris. It is impossible to trace Polish civilisation and the development of that wonderful literature which still holds its own among the rich heritages of the Slav peoples, but it is necessary to show how close was the connection between these two branches of the race, and, as the reader of history knows, they were more than once united under the same sovereign. Although modern Czech and modern Polish are considered as two languages, they are closely connected and may be regarded as the northern branch of

the Slav tongue. Latin, although it was partially ousted in later years by the Hussite and German reformations, was undoubtedly a powerful factor in shaping the thought, civilising the life, and helping the development of literary and artistic perceptions which reached a high standard at so early a period as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At this time the third great branch of the Slavs was still in the half-light of emergence from pagan and Oriental thraldom. The sixteenth century saw the consolidation of a political power which was to be the foundation of modern Russia, but it was not until the seventeenth that Russia began to be considered worthy to be included in the European system. At the end of that century arose the prince who, by virtue of his strength of will and character, set the seal of European civilisation firmly on his dominions. Peter the Great turned to the West for the reorganisation of his kingdom, and although he went to England, Holland, and France for his military and naval ideas, he asks, in a celebrated letter, to have Bohemian *savants* sent to his country that they may translate books into Russian, and he also wishes for Moravians and Silesians of similar capacity. At this period the existence of Slavs in Bohemia and Moravia (which were believed to be completely Germanised) was almost entirely ignored by the rest of Europe. It is a curious fate which effaced the Czechs from the map of Europe at the very time when the greatest of the Slav powers was beginning her career.

The attempt at a rapprochement of Slavs was not limited to the Czechs. In 1617 Krijanich, a Croat, appealed to the Russian Tsar to come to the rescue of the Slavs of

the Danube and the Balkans, making a strong plea for Slav solidarity. Like the Russians, the Serbo-Croatian-speaking peoples who made up the Southern Slavs were, and are, under the sway of Byzantine Christianity; but whereas in Russia there was unity in this matter, the Serbo-Croatians are divided, first by the fact that a section of them belong to the Latin Church, and still further by religious sects like those of the Bogomiles in past times and by the divisions of the patriarchal and exarchical churches within the orthodox fold itself. The Cyrillic or Byzantine-Slav character became that of Russia, and when that country began to develop a national literature and art it was influenced to a marked degree by the East, or perhaps it is more correct to say that it shewed a cast, both of thought and expression, which was not European or derived from the West. No student of Russian life, character, or literature can have failed to notice the Oriental strain which constantly obtrudes itself, despite the influence of certain Western schools of thought and expression, and it is a commonplace to say that even the modern Russian is half Oriental.

This feature in the development of their national life and language cut them off, despite the utterances of pan-Slavists, from a great body of their southern Slavonic brethren. We are not directly concerned in this book with the Balkan States, nor is there space to differentiate the Bulgarian and Servian peoples and their early civilisations from those of other southern Slavs, with whom we are now concerned. In Bulgaria and in Roumania the Roman and Greek empires, and the influences emanating from them,

were the decisive factors rather than any indigenous Slav national development, and in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (now combined as Roumania) the state of society in the sixteenth century was still little more than savage. The language of literature (which must have been chiefly of a religious character) was Slav, but after the setting up of printing presses in Bucharest in 1640, and at Jassy a few years later, Roumanian became the literary as well as the vernacular tongue. Roumania, it need hardly be said, is by virtue of the Roman blood and tradition which she cherishes so fondly, a Latin and not a Slav country, though the population was at one period similar to that of the neighbouring countries.

Bulgaria, Slav in population, but deriving its name and distinctive characteristics from a tribe of conquerors who came (tradition says) from the banks of the Volga and were probably Asiatic in origin, is now one of the rising Slav countries, and has always preserved a Slav language. The Bulgars may claim to be the most ancient of the Slav peoples, since their authentic history begins with their conflicts with the Greek empire in the eighth and ninth centuries, and they were converted to Christianity by the earliest of Byzantine missionaries, their first Christian Tsar being Boris I., in 1064. It is said that he hesitated in his choice between the Latin and Greek churches, for the former had previously been active among the Slav countries of the Balkans, and the political and religious controversy between East and West had already begun. Bulgaria was, from the first, anxious to have a church of her own, and it is of the greatest interest to trace in the

history of nearly a thousand years ago the same problems that are exercising men's minds to-day and to realise how narrow, in reality, is the scope of human experience, so that we must go on fighting the same battles over and over again. Bulgaria had her period of greatness very early; her rulers assumed the title of Tsar five centuries before there were Tsars of Russia, and the golden age of Bulgarian literature arrived as early as the tenth century, when there were quite a number of writers, historical and ecclesiastical, who used the Cyrillic character, and also a number of translators from the Greek. The rich heritages of the Bulgarians in folk lore and song have been collected in later times, and the poetry is of a haunting melody, but belongs chiefly to the period of enslavement to the Turk and loss of national greatness. The eighteenth century saw a return to these sources and a revival of Bulgarian literature. The Bulgarian language, which has naturally undergone modifications since the very early period of its first literary efflorescence, differs somewhat from the Serbo-Croat, to which, however, it is closely akin. The influences, cultural and political, of the East on Bulgaria have left their mark, while in Servia, the great empire which succeeded it in power among the southern Slavs, there has always been the thread of Latinism, interwoven with that of the Greek Church and the Byzantine capital, with which for some centuries Servia had close intercourse. The relations between the languages of Servia and Bulgaria are, however, too close to allow any doubt as to their essential unity.

The Servians were Christianised in the same century as

the Bulgarians and Moravians—the ninth,—but their growth to power was slower than that of their neighbours, the Bulgars, and their national development was proportionately later. Servia emerges from the condition of a loose federation of vassal chiefs under Byzantine suzerainty in the fourteenth century, and under their great national king and hero, Stephen Dusan, the country at once rose to the extreme height of its power and became a real Slavonic empire, with a territory stretching from the Save to the Gulf of Corinth and from the Ægean to the Adriatic. This Slav empire had its own code of laws, a civilisation which surprised visitors from the most advanced countries of Europe, and a literature in the vernacular. Like all Slav countries, Servia had an interesting folk lore and song, but on the whole the Servians of this golden period were too warlike a people to develop the softer side of life, and they never had time to enjoy the fruits of their victories. The empire of Dusan fell to pieces almost as rapidly as it was reared, and in the fifteenth century, weakened by dissensions with other Christian countries, and disunited within itself by differences of creed, Servia fell before the Turks. The story has been told elsewhere. As to its bearing on pan-Slavism, it is only necessary to say that the conditions which prevented a Slav union in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are present to-day, in the fatal disunion of the religious world which embitters relations between fellow-countrymen, and still more between neighbouring countries. Bulgaria and Servia have been hereditary rivals, though kinsfolk, since the beginning of their history, and there is no bond of language,

CATHOLIC SERIRANS, MOHACS (ON THE DANUBE)

HUNGARIAN WOMEN, MOHACS (ON THE DANUBE)

culture, or religion which is sufficient to unite them, though the exigencies of modern political life for small countries might be expected to do so. Undoubtedly pan-Slavists hope to work up the racial tie through literary reunion, but the past history of the two countries, and the extent to which their "historic claims" overlap, make agreement very difficult.

The southern Slavs have had one phase of national efflorescence which is peculiarly interesting from the literary and language standpoint. It centred (as has already been described) in the coast town and republic of Ragusa, which retained its independence when all the rest of the southern Slavs were more or less subjugated, either by Turks, Magyars, or Teutons. Before this *débâcle* Ragusa had won her reputation. She was the centre of a remarkable literary and poetic movement which rivalled that of the Italian school, and was enthusiastically Slav in spirit and inspiration, although adopting the Latin form of expression and being essentially a part of the European literary renaissance. The Slav dialect used was examined by George Palmotich, a writer of the eighteenth century, who attempts to identify the Dalmatian or Illyrian language (Serbo-Croat, in fact) with the Czech of Bohemia, which had been recognised by Charles IV., in his Golden Bull, as necessary for imperial princes to learn. But this attempt and that of other Dalmatian writers were chiefly an effort to console their depressed little country for its private misfortunes by linking it up with the great lands to which it was racially related, and by recalling past greatness to banish the memory of present insignificance. It is

interesting to remember that, in the islands of Dalmatia, there still linger fragments of the earliest form of literary Slav in the shape of a liturgy written in Glagolitza.

The greatest differences of opinion exist as to this ancient Slav form of writing, which some authorities have tried to connect with the so-called "Sarmatian" inscriptions. While the authenticity of the latter remains to be proved, an examination of Glagolitza seems to establish a close connection between it and the cursive Greek of the seventh and eighth centuries. There are two forms of Glagolitza, the Bulgarian and the Croat, and quite a number of manuscripts have been unearthed in this writing, the earliest authentic document, however, being a signature on a manuscript of 982. Glagolitza is a difficult and involved form of writing, and would never have held its own against Cyrillic but for the opposition of the Church to the latter. Attempts were made to introduce it into Bohemia and Moravia at different periods, under the rather mistaken idea that it represented a more distinctive form of Slav than that written in Cyrillic characters, but it only survived in Croatia, where it was used in a lay as well as a clerical form, and finally (as already said) in the islands of the Dalmatian coast, where a Glagolitza liturgy is still in use. Cyrillic is used side by side with Latin among the Serbo-Croats to-day; the Latin character is used by the Bohemian-Polish group and the Slovaks and Slovenes.

Whatever doubts may be cast on the possibility of union between the scattered sections of the Slavs, it is impossible to discount the influence of the strong racial and nationalist propaganda in Dalmatia, where at present Austria

OLD CLOISTERS OF THE FRANCISCANS, RAGUSA

imposes her rule without for a moment penetrating below the surface of national life. Closely allied with the history of Dalmatia is that of Croatia, which was an independent constitutional kingdom until the twelfth century and attained to a very respectable degree of internal organisation and civilisation, always on purely Slav lines. The kingly title had been bestowed upon the Croat rulers since the tenth century, as vassals either of Eastern or Western empires, but in 1076 the Pope bestowed the kingly title direct on Zvonimir, who was crowned at Spalato and whose usual place of residence was Zara in Dalmatia. The union of the Croatian crown with that of Hungary and the final loss of national independence have not prevented the Croats from preserving jealously their Slav traditions. The conditions of life and religion have been described elsewhere, and the only essential difference between the Croats and their near kinsmen in Servia and Bosnia is that the former hardy, brave, and patient people never fell under the Turkish yoke. Like the Poles and Magyars, they were for centuries the sentinels of Europe against the East, and their strenuous lives and fighting qualities were calculated to develop the hardier virtues, but were not a fertile soil for the flower of national life. Nevertheless, modern research has revealed many ancient works, chiefly of a religious character, written in the ancient Glagolitza character which, as we have seen, had its most permanent home in this region. For the real literary development of the Serbo-Croatian peoples one must, however, turn to Ragusa, which was their rallying point when the conditions of their own countries no longer permitted the growth

of national literatures. We have seen a Croat of the seventeenth century developing a scheme of pan-Slavist union, but it was reserved for the Napoleonic invasion to reawaken, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, a genuine racial enthusiasm among the southern Slavs.

A glance at one of the sketch maps in this volume will indicate the extent of the kingdom which the Corsican Cæsar grouped together and called Illyria, in a manner which might appear both arbitrary and fanciful, but which was in its way a stroke of genius. Illyria, intended to recall the Illyrian provinces of the Roman empire, was a fleeting kingdom and resolved into its component parts when the Napoleonic empire crumbled away. But the regrouping accomplished for the southern Slavs an extraordinary renascence. It divorced them violently from that Germanic world to which a great portion of them (the Slovenes) are tied and from the Magyar domination in the case of Croatia, and by throwing them back on a period before their subjection to diverse disruptive influences, and by organising them once more as a Slav kingdom, it helped more than any mere political or literary propaganda could have done to quicken their sense or racial unity and destiny. At the same time the intelligence and sympathy of the French, and their interest in reviving the Slav and opposing the German element, were instrumental in stimulating the literary renascence which was necessary to revive racial pride. The most interesting phase of this Illyrian revival is to be found in the ancient Slav duchies so long attached to the Habsburg dynasty as to be considered completely Austrian.

SLAV PEASANTS, FROM THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF TRIESTE

The Slovenes of Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria have retained little trace of an early literature. Their language was little known, and is a Slav dialect rather than a language, although it has been provided with a grammar. The double weight of Latinism and Teutonism imposed upon these Slav countries by Church and State did not leave the Slovenes much of their national traditions, and it is one of the wonders of Slav renascence that this denationalising force, to which no organised resistance was opposed, should have failed to extinguish the spark of Slav nationality. Like other peoples, the Slovenes stooped to conquer. The tide has passed over their heads and now the back-wash brings them up again. The centre of their revival was the little town of Laibach, where, by a caprice of Napoleon, Francis Nodier became librarian. This was the Slovene town where, in 1616, the Habsburgs and the Jesuits had burned thousands of volumes written and collected by the school of religious and political reformers who echoed the Bohemian revolt against Catholicism and Germanism, being deeply influenced by Luther and the German Reformation. It has been recorded in another chapter how the whole of the Styrian nobility, save seven families, were deprived of their estates for their adherence to the reformed faith, and the Counter Reformation was more successful here than in other parts of the Habsburg domains, since Catholicism regained her hold on the Slovenes. To return to Laibach and the influence of the French. After the Illyrian period the Slovenes never again allowed themselves to lose their sense of racial distinctness, and we have seen how, by slow degrees, they have consolidated their

position. The constitution granted by the Emperor to all his lands restored to them the autonomy so dear to the Slavs, and which, be it noted, they understand so well how to use. They have used it to such good purpose that today they have Slovene schools, use their language in municipal public life and in their diets, and return Slovene deputies to the Reichsrath. Their literary revival is somewhat jealous of being confounded with the Serbo-Croatian, and their dialect is in fact different from any other which has assumed literary form, being naturally entirely free from the Cyrillic or Byzantine element. The movement is a provincial rather than a national or racial one, and in this respect it resembles one other phase of Slav revival, that of the Slovaks of North Hungary, while the use made by the Catholic Church of both movements to oppose the advance of liberalism and religious indifferentism marks a second point of similarity.

The Slovaks, the last in our litany of pan-Slavism, live in a beautiful district of Northwest Hungary, and are the descendants of the Moravian peoples annexed by the Magyars at an early date in their own history, but at a time when Moravia was just ceasing to be the premier Slav state in a vast confederacy. The Slovaks are a simple people, in a primitive stage of development, but with the usual Slav tenacity they have maintained their racial distinctiveness even in the teeth of the absorbing force of Hungarianism. Nevertheless they had no special propaganda, no sense of racial or religious grievance (the only sources of a successful propaganda) until in recent times it suited certain political parties to work it up. The Slo-

HUNGARIAN SLOVAK WOMAN IN HOLIDAY DRESS

SLOVAK PEASANTS, FROM CSOMAD

vaks are chiefly exploited by the clerical party to form a counterpoise to the growing liberalism in Hungary. There are now newspapers in Slovak, which have a considerable circulation because the people, otherwise illiterate, have always been taught to read in the Bohemian Bible, a custom not departed from when they were reconverted from the Bohemian religion to the Roman Catholic Church. The pan-Slavist movement which is at present being engineered among these people must, therefore, be regarded as different in its foundation from that of any other Slav country, and, although the racial feeling is spreading, it is solely with relation to the political phenomena of Hungary and is not affected either by the Czech agitation (with which Slovaks have no special sympathy because the Czechs have wanted to impose their own literary language on them) or with the Slav renascence of the South.[2] The so-called pan-Slavism of the Slovaks is nothing more than an attempt to resist Magyarisation, originally engineered by a Magyar party for its own purposes, but tending more and more to form into a little obstructive and defensive cave of its own. By careful gerrymandering the Magyars keep this Slovak party from becoming numerous in the parliament at Budapest, but these two millions of Slavs will be a force to reckon with if universal suffrage gives them a chance.

Such are the elements in which certain writers profess

[2] Until 1840 the Slovaks can hardly be said to have had a literary language distinct from that of the Czechs, but since that time the Slovaks of Hungary have developed an independent form, although in Eastern Moravia the Slovaks attend Czech schools and use the Czech language in writing and reading.

to find the component parts of a pan-Slavic union or league. As a serious political idea it is altogether chimerical, and, as we began by saying, there is no organisation, no machinery, no funds (like those at the disposal of the pan-Germans). Pan-Slavism is a politico-ethnological theory, a cult, an aspiration.

The entirely different stages of evolution, the different ideals, religions, and languages which divide the Slav peoples, make any general scheme of pan-Slavism impracticable. In its most plausible form the cult presupposes an altogether successful and magnificent Russia attracting beneath her sheltering wing some of the scattered Slav nations of similar religion and with affinities eastwards rather than westwards. This dream has been shattered for at least a century to come, perhaps forever, by the events of 1905 and 1906. But at the moment of Russia's —autocratic Russia's—greatest brilliance there was much in her to repel rather than attract those Slav races which had won back to the more genuine Slav traditions of government on democratic lines, whereas Russia was an Oriental oligarchy.[3] Then there is the peculiar position of Bohemia. This book has been written in vain if it has failed to convey to the reader the extraordinary possibilities of the Czech people, endowed alike with proud historical traditions and practical modern energy. No Slav people have achieved so high a position as the Czechs. They are first in the Slav world, not by reason of territo-

[3] The struggling renascence of the Slovaks has received neither pecuniary aid nor sympathy from Russia, although she supports Slavism in the Balkans. The strict orthodoxy of the Russian Slavs has been an impenetrable barrier between her and other Slav peoples.

CATHOLIC VILLAGERS, HERZEGOVINA

rial conquest or brilliant artistic achievement, but because, while still struggling for national independence, they have succeeded in that most difficult task of reshaping themselves and accomplishing internal reforms. It is the boast of Bohemia that in education, as in industries, she is the first country of the Austrian lands and could compete even with modern German states in these respects, while at the same time in the artistic side of her national life, literature, music, painting, and the sister arts, she continues to hold her own against the world. It may well be asked, therefore, how this brilliant, patient, virile, and successful people could be expected to take any but a first place in a Slav hegemony. Their geographical position, however, makes this almost impossible, and even were it possible we have seen that the little Slav peoples nearest to her, even the Slovaks of Northern Hungary, are not inclined to join in a union in which they would be eclipsed and possibly absorbed by their brilliant neighbours. Not one of the Slav peoples, be it noted, would cede the right of their own form of language or their own national literature, delved up from an almost forgotten past, to be the true and original form and the one which should predominate in a Slav union. Not one would abate a jot of their national pretensions (which frequently clash), and all are intensely jealous on the subject of religion and resent any attempt to bind them more closely to one of the great churches. While pan-Slavism, therefore, is chiefly a form of speech, there is a genuine movement—Slavism—which in the last century caused the upheaval of Eastern Europe and is at work preparing fresh developments and perhaps some surprises.

Although the possibility does not enter into a scheme of pan-Slavism, and is therefore foreign to this chapter, it may be mentioned here that combinations among sections of the southern Slavs are not impossible. Slavism has many supporters, and there are numerous societies, literary, antiquarian, and political, which are directly auxiliary to it. Since 1867 there has been no Slav congress on a large scale, but rapprochements between the different sections of the race have taken place from time to time. The most vital of the bonds forged in behalf of pan-Slavism is that which unites the young Slavs through the medium of the Sokols, or athletic societies. These are patriotic as well as athletic, and are being formed all over the Slav countries which they unite in a friendly rivalry. There is a national Sokol Union which includes associations all over Europe and even among the Slav emigrants in America.

At present the bogey of the pan-Germans is an Austrian empire where the principle of federalism shall replace that of centralisation, thus depriving the Habsburg dynasty (and the German Austrians) of their chief weapon, while the predominance of autonomous Slav states in the federation will turn the scale finally in favour of Slav against Teuton.

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICS AND POLITICIANS

THE study of politics in Austria-Hungary is complicated for the British or American reader by the fact that although he may be acquainted with the theory of parliamentary government upon which the systems of the two countries rest, he will not necessarily be able to understand the way in which it is worked. One of the Hungarian leaders recently took advantage of this circumstance to enlist the sympathies of English people by postulating a case in which the scene was moved from Hungary to Great Britain. The defeat on vital questions of a great political party was described as being followed by the calling of the Opposition by the King, who, instead of instructing the putative Prime Minister to form a government to carry out the mandate given to his party by the electors, asked him, certainly, to form a cabinet, but at the same time required him to carry out the desires of the sovereign, and not of the nation as expressed at the election. Naturally this presentation of the case is likely to win sympathy from the British public, and, moreover, it is in its broad features a true account of what happened after the final destruction of the Liberal party in Hungary in 1904. It is, however, at the same time utterly misleading, because the parliamentary systems of Austria and Hungary are quite different in their workings from that of Great Britain. It is,

indeed, impossible to appreciate the political situation without a knowledge of history, and although the readers of this book already understand the relations of the two halves of the Dual Monarchy, it is here necessary to recapitulate them in brief.

Everything in Austro-Hungarian political life dates from 1867. At that time the King ratified the Hungarian Constitution and bestowed a similar one on his Austrian lands. In doing so he entered, as Emperor of Austria, into an arrangement with the independent allied kingdom of Hungary. His own constitutional position was defined in so doing. Hungarians accepted the arrangement, though a certain number of irreconcilables refused to acknowledge it, and Louis Kossuth died abroad rather than do so. Like all constitutions, the Hungarian one is not in the form of a treaty or single document but is the growth of centuries, partly founded on fundamental principles recognised by the rulers and partly on long-established custom. The position of a king in such a constitutional monarchy is affected more by precedent than by actual law. Our own monarch, in a phrase which has become dear to the stickler for "constitutional rights," reigns but does not govern. The King of Hungary both reigns and governs, though he is bound to govern with the will of the people; but conversely the people cannot govern without him. The King and Parliament are indivisible for this purpose. King Francis Joseph has successfully asserted his prerogatives, in that he has actually refused to sanction bills passed by both houses of parliament. Without his sanction they are of course invalid, as they

would be in any constitutional monarchy. King Edward VII. could exercise a similar prerogative, but, whereas it is inconceivable that he should do so, it is a fact that King Francis Joseph has done so, and their position is therefore entirely different. The same difference, in practice if not in theory, exists in the choice of the responsible ministers through whom the King must govern, and who must countersign any acts or ordinances of his. In Great Britain the choice of the King is governed by exigencies over which he has no control. Custom, precedent, and the smooth working of the party system impose on him a course of action in which his own private convictions or desires must not play any part. On the contrary, King Francis Joseph is equally within his constitutional privileges when, on the dissolution of one government, he chooses the political leader (outside that government) who is most likely to carry out the views of the Crown, and entrusts him with the task of getting together a party which will command a majority in the House. In both cases the theory of the parliamentary majority representing the will of the nation (without which the constitutional monarch may not govern) is carried out in the letter. The comparative merits of the two systems are neither here nor there, and as a matter of fact, without the system of proportional representation and a number of other electoral reforms, the "will of the nation" is as little, or as much, expressed by one form as by the other. The result, however, in Austria and Hungary is to make the relations of the Crown and the ministers, and of the ministers and the political parties, quite foreign to

anything within the experience of parliamentary life in Britain. The ministers are the servants of the Crown rather than of parliament, and the political parties have to shape a programme which the Crown will sanction before they are likely to be asked to take office. In the event of a deadlock the Crown, which is bound to summon parliament at stated intervals, can exercise its prerogative and dismiss it on the same day. It was the exercise of this power which recently created such a sensation in Hungary when, like Cromwell, the King dissolved parliament with an armed force to support his authority.

Besides the Austrian parliament and the Hungarian parliament, and the Austrian government and the Hungarian government, there is that debated land of Common Affairs over which the Delegations hold sway. The Hungarian dislike of creating anything like a dual parliament led to the extraordinary device of these two bodies, debating separately and not allowed even to speak to each other, like two children whose mothers will not "make friends." They communicate in writing and, if it is necessary to take a joint vote, they vote without debating! The position of the Emperor and King towards this amorphous creation was naturally defined by the compact of 1867 which gave rise to it. The ministers of common affairs (*Kaiserlich und Königlich*) are also responsible to the Emperor and King, a mutual responsibility complicated by the obligation to obtain a third ratification, from the Delegations, who in their turn are answerable to the parliaments of the two countries. The King on his side is responsible also to the ministers and parliaments, with one extremely impor-

tant reservation. In the department of defence he is, as Commander-in-Chief, not responsible to anyone in the appointment of officers or the organisation of the army. The minister of war is not required to countersign acts dealing with these,[1] though responsible for such matters as commissariat, equipment, and the technical side, while the parliaments of the two countries, by the standing laws, retain the control of recruiting. The contingent of recruits is voted annually by each parliament, and in case either refuses to contribute their quota there is no possible means of coercion.

The parliamentary situation in the Austrian half of the monarchy is complicated by the disunited nature of the autonomous "provinces," which are represented. If one could imagine the state of affairs at Westminster, with members of parliament coming from half-a-dozen countries and races as widely opposed as the most recalcitrant Irish and the most uncompromising "Saxon," the composition of the Austrian parliament could, perhaps, be realised. When the Ausgleich was made it was believed that both Hungary and Austria, mutually helpful, would be able independently to control the elements of disunion within their own borders. How far this expectation has been fulfilled will be partly shewn by the story of the growth of parties in Austria.

In 1867 the German element in Austria was the richest, most powerful, best educated, and most widespread of the peoples of the "lands represented in the Reichsrath." This section alone was in favour of the arrangement with

[1] Law of Dec. 21, 1867. Par. 5.

Hungary. The Slavs of Bohemia and Moravia, although not in a position to prevent it, protested by the one means in their power: by absenting themselves in a mass from the Reichsrath, which was therefore in the awkward predicament of having to try to carry on government without the consent of some of the most important provinces. The tactics adopted by Beust were to dissolve the provincial diets of the two Czech provinces and, by influencing the great landowners, to secure a German majority in the new diets. As the provincial diets elected the members for the Reichsrath at this time, this manœuvre was successful in obtaining for the latter the necessary deputies, who were, moreover, likely to support Beust's policy. At this time the majority in the Reichsrath belonged to what was known as the German Liberal party, and the opposition parties (who did not coalesce) were the Feudal-Clericals (members of the old-fashioned Catholic and aristocratic families, who resented any disturbance of the old form of government, or any innovations in social or religious legislation) and the three national parties of Italians, Slovenes, and Poles. The policy of the Liberal Government in introducing anti-clerical laws, as to marriage, schools, and religious privileges, was approved by the majority in the Reichsrath, but met with opposition in the country, where the autonomous provincial governments refused to carry out the laws. The Poles, as has been said before, (though all Catholic in principles) came to terms with the Government, which gave them, in exchange for their support in the Reichsrath, important concessions regarding language, railroads, and educational questions.

The Czechs stood out, declared Bohemia to have nothing in common with Austria except the dynasty, and finally broke into riots which had to be repressed with martial law.

The German Liberals might have held their own but for divisions within, and now began to develop that invariable appendage of any Liberal party—an extreme section, or Radical Left. The head of the ministry was Count Taafe, a man of moderate and conciliatory views, who was above everything an opportunist. He resigned to make way for a less conciliatory minister, but the Poles and Slavs by refusing co-operation forced the formation of a fresh cabinet in which Taafe and Potocki returned to office and once more tried to get a majority together by conciliating all the races. The result of this policy was to please none, for the period was one little calculated for allaying race feeling, being that of the Franco-Prussian war and of important events in Italy. The Emperor was inclined, by the failure of Taafe to get a majority, to lean to another political party, and although the Liberals still predominated in the House, Count Hohenwart, representing the Feudal-Clerical and Nationalist elements, was called on to form a ministry. The impossibility of carrying through any important bill, in the teeth of a majority not pledged to support the Government, appears to the English reader to be an insuperable objection to such a ministry, but the Liberals themselves were disunited and undisciplined. Nevertheless they did reject a bill in the Lower House, whereupon the time-honored practice was resorted to of dissolving the provincial diets, capturing

as many of them as possible by means of pressure on the great landowners (who, of course, were largely included in the Federal-Clericals), and thus securing a fresh Reichsrath with a majority friendly to government. This was done and the Czechs joined in accomplishing it, receiving as a reward a rescript suspending the fundamental laws and acknowledging the peculiar rights of their country. This constitutional change aroused, however, a unanimity of feeling among the German Austrians which caused them for the time to sink party differences, while the southern Slavs and Poles immediately began to clamour for similar concessions. Finally Hungary (with her own subject races to consider and a large Slav population) threw her weight into the balance; the Federal party lost the support of the Crown under this pressure, resigned, and was succeeded by a government with precisely opposite views.

This was the Auersperg Cabinet, which lasted from 1871 till 1879, and by the usual method restored the German Liberal majority in the Reichsrath. In 1873 a law was passed which made a great reform in the method of electing the deputies to the Reichsrath, who were no longer the choice of the provincial diets but elected direct by the voters. No reform, however, was made in the electoral basis, which was founded on the class system and gave such an enormous preponderance to certain sections of society. The final break-up of the Auersperg Cabinet was due not so much to racial disputes as to the internal dissensions of the Liberal party, which broke up into three factions, each of which formed a "club." The

A COUNTRY FAIR, BOSNIA

part played by these in Austria resembles that of the French clubs of the revolutionary period rather than of the great political clubs of England. Affairs were discussed and the action of members decided on, and the Liberal clubs did not feel themselves bound by ties of party loyalty to the Government, but criticised it freely, and even voted against it, till at last the Auersperg ministry could no longer maintain its position.

One of the chief disintegrating factors was the war between the Church and Liberalism of the more advanced type. Foreign policy also was the subject of disagreement, and the renewal of the commercial arrangements with Hungary, which fell due in 1877, was the subject of great dissension.

The next ministry, under the conciliatory Taafe, was designed to put an end to internal squabbles by uniting all races and religions in one government. The cabinet contained a German Liberal, a Clerical, a Pole, and even a Czech. The Czechs had hitherto maintained their attitude of aloofness and of refusing to recognise the constitutional position, but for some time a party had been growing which, under the name of the Young Czechs, was in favour of abandoning the attitude of passive resistance in favour of an aggressive political campaign. The Old and the Young Czechs at this time effected an understanding and came into the Reichsrath, while the deputies who belonged to the Old party became firm supporters of the Government.

We now find the Austrian Parliament composed of a Left (the Radicals and advanced Liberals), the Centre or

Liberals, and a Right, which was made up of most heterogeneous elements—Czechs, Slavs, Poles, and Conservatives—not at all at one in their views, but supporting the government for what they hoped to get out of it. On the whole, however, they were agreed in preferring federalisation to centralisation, but they were not strong enough to force any vital change in this direction in the teeth of the objections of the bureaucracy (so powerful in Austria) and of the army, always opposed to decentralisation. The German Liberals, at first supposed to take a share in this combination government, went into opposition almost immediately, and their representative in the ministry resigned. Ostensibly their chief grievance was the policy of concession to the Slavs, but in reality neither Czechs nor Poles got any very substantial reward for their services to the Government.

It is obvious that such a party government as this gave the widest scope for exercise of the talents of the Emperor in effecting political combinations and compromises, and in fact the Reichsrath became an instrument on which he could play. The influence of the Czechs on parliamentary life was the chief factor in breaking up this artificial harmony of discordant and disunited elements. The Young Czechs had formed a strong party which condemned the attitude of submission which was bringing little reward, and they moreover joined in violent opposition to a scheme for settling the race difficulty in Bohemia by carefully separating Germans and Czechs and assuring to each equal influence and equal rights. This would have been fatal to the Czech ambition of recovering the su-

premacy of their race in their own country, and such a storm of national feeling was raised that the project fell through.

A fresh appeal to the country, in the hope of securing a majority for the moderates of all parties, was far from successful. The Old Czech party was nearly wiped out by their more violently patriotic countrymen and the German Liberals, still in a majority, strengthened the Left rather than the Centre.

In October, 1893, Count Taafe fell, after a term of office lasting fourteen years, but the cabinet which succeeded him was not a new one, except for the inclusion of a German Liberal. The peculiar conditions of Austrian political life are well illustrated by this circumstance, and it is interesting to note that the personality of the leader seems to count for more than the policy of the party he represents. The revolt was against Taafe, of whom the Reichsrath was tired, just as, at a later date, Koloman Tisza met with a similar fate in Hungary.

The coalition cabinet formed in 1893 was wrecked chiefly on a language question relating to the revival of Slovenian in Styria. A four months' ministry under Count Kielmansegg was succeeded by another under Count Badeni, the Polish governor of Galicia, who announced, as Count Taafe had done at a previous period, that he should hold himself above all race feeling and party politics but would respect the priority of the Germans. Despite this announcement, the name of Badeni will go down to posterity forever linked with the language ordinances, which granted to the Czechs the use of their own tongue in the

internal administration (for which they had been contending) and thus united the German factions in one wave of passionate indignation and made the resignation of the minister inevitable.

In the stormy history of the Austrian chamber no scenes more violent have been enacted than those which greeted this attempt to conciliate the Czechs. Vienna was on the point of revolution, and only the immediate intervention of the Emperor and the recision of the ordinances restored anything like order. Needless to say, the Czechs did not accept their disappointment quietly. It will be remembered that, in the early 'seventies, the German Liberals began to split up into "clubs," and that the Left section which emerged continued to gain in influence. In 1878 this extreme party took on itself a fresh complexion by adopting the principles of pan-Germanism. At first this propaganda was a small one as regards its influence in the Reichsrath. It was first introduced to that body by the deputy Schoenerer, when he announced that there was a growing desire among Austrian Germans for union with Germany, but a definite policy was not formulated till 1882, when the Linz programme was announced, which demanded the exclusion of the purely Slav "lands" (Galicia, Bukowina, and Dalmatia) from Austria, and complete inclusion within the German customs union. This extreme German propaganda did not meet with very wide support until the Badeni ordinances of 1897 gave such an impetus to German nationalism. After this time the utterances of Schoenerer and his party became actively treasonable, for the Habsburg dynasty was declared to have

surrendered to the Slavs, and the Hohenzollerns were held up as more worthy of German allegiance.

The burning question of the position of the Church was another of the disuniting factors within the German ranks, and now became involved with that of nationality, but, as this movement has been described already in the chapter on pan-Germanism, it need not be treated at any length here. The rise of Socialism, itself divided into Christian Socialism and International Socialism (a distinction chiefly lying in the respective attitudes of the groups towards the Jews, the first being extremely anti-Semite, the latter promoted by Jews), was another split in the German Liberal camp, but the divisions in the main are only three, for the various groups coalesce on certain vital points.

First come the constitutional landed proprietors, with a considerable representation under the present electoral system. They are Centralists, Catholics, and opposed equally to amalgamation with Germany or to any radical change in the constitution of the country. Second, there is a group which favours federalism and also includes a certain number of great landowners, the Conservative Clerical Popular Party, and the Christian Socialists, with those Radicals and Democrats who do not favour the pan-Germans. It must be understood that all these parties have little cohesion, and are only grouped together as favouring federalism, rather than increased centralisation, or (the other extreme) amalgamation with Germany. The third group is the small but growing one formed by the pan-Germans, whose demands we have already stated, and who are supported in part of their programme by the most

powerful (numerically) of all, namely, the German Popular Party. These two, the Pan-Germans and the Populists, are the only parties which are not intensely loyal to the dynasty, and in the main to the Catholic church.[2]

After the crisis caused by the Badeni ordinances a period of the greatest confusion ensued and the Austrian Chamber was the scene of wild disorder. Baron Gautsch was made Premier and attempted to restore order, but only held office for two months, and during his premiership it became necessary to close the universities, which were infected with the general political excitement. In the spring of 1898 Count Thun, a member of a noble Bohemian family, took office, and attempted to placate both sides by including in his ministry one of the great German landowners and a Young Czech. He also endeavoured to suppress the pan-German agitation, put down the students' association "Teutonia," which was anti-Austrian in character, and arrested some of the German pastors who were mixing treason to Austria with their "Los von Rom" propaganda. The result was that his reputation as a Slavophil caused his fall, and in the 1901 elections the extreme Left party increased their representation in the Reichsrath and for the first time secured the election of one of their party to the Delegations. The retirement of Count Thun was followed by a three months' tenure of office by Count Clary, who endeavoured to maintain himself by German support. In the year 1900 the Emperor called

[2] The Bohemian political parties are, the Old and the Young Czechs, the Progressives, Realists, Socialists, National Socialists, Agrarians, Conservatives (large landowners), and one or two minor groups.

a fresh ministry, with Körber at its head, which at first seemed likely to get along peacefully. In a short time, however, the Czechs began to reiterate their demands, and after more stormy scenes the Reichsrath was again dissolved. At the elections of 1901 the Clericals lost heavily and the Extreme Left increased its numbers, the Schoenerer group of pan-German Radicals now numbering twenty-one. A feature of this period was the increasing enmity between these parties and the Church. In 1902 the German Popular Party separated from the more moderate sections.

The relationship with Hungary came up for debate on the question of the renewal of the commercial compromise. A number of Austrian-Germans were entirely dissatisfied with the basis of the arrangement, and still more with the way in which it was always worked by Hungary, which is able, by political solidarity in the Delegations, to get the whip hand. Körber went so far as to declare that without more favourable terms for Austria he would not sanction a fresh commercial Ausgleich, and the difficulties reached such an acute stage that he wanted to resign, but was persuaded to remain in office to avoid the chaos which otherwise must ensue. The new army bills were a great bone of contention, and the action of Hungary in refusing to ratify them led to a similar policy of obstruction on the part of the Czechs and Croats.

In 1905 Gautsch took office again, an appointment which was made by the Crown in much the same spirit as that which, shortly after, dictated the calling of Fejerváry to form a Hungarian cabinet. The Emperor and King,

faced with irreconcilable opposition in each country, was making a desperate attempt to obtain a majority for the policy he favoured by means of compromises, but the unsuccess of these tactics ultimately led to a fresh phase (described more fully later on) in which the question of electoral reform was used to disarm the opposition in both countries. The expedient of giving his sanction to universal suffrage was not dictated by any demand for that reform in the Austrian Parliament, though a measure of electoral reform had long been pressed for. On the whole, all the Slav nationalist parties are favourable to the scheme, except the Poles, who naturally oppose bitterly any measure which would put power in the hands of the Ruthenian peasants. The German Liberals are somewhat divided in their opinions, but the Clerical Party are not opposed to it, except that portion closely allied with the old Conservatives. The Socialists are naturally delighted, and the Government is now devoting itself to a consideration of the best basis for the reform. In this rapid survey of the course of Austrian parliamentary history since the Ausgleich too little has, perhaps, been said of the Hungarian question in Austria—that is the ever-recurring problem of the relations of the two halves of the monarchy. If all internal questions between Germans, Czechs, Poles, Slovenes, Clericals and Anti-Clericals, Nationalists and Federalists could by some miracle have disappeared there would still have remained this perennial source of discontent. The German party particularly, although in its old form responsible for the Ausgleich, is now far from united in approving the basis on which the

two countries are joined together, and is practically unanimous in declaring that, whatever the changes made, they must not be in favour of Hungary, which already has much the best of the bargain.

As said already, Hungary, by means of greater solidarity, has actually been the predominant partner. In the Delegations, for instance, while the Hungarian members are elected by the parliament without restriction and form a compact body, the Austrians, who must be taken from each province in due proportion, are disunited by all the questions of race and party. The advantage of Hungary is obvious. Moreover, although the Hungarian Parliament is by no means a calm and peaceful one and contains many discordant elements, yet on questions of race the government can always count on a majority. The Magyars, in fact, display to a very high degree the power of organisation for political purposes, and despite the intensity of party strife the general tendency has been more and more towards settling down to a steady and non-extreme form of parliamentary government. In recent times a less admirable temper has shewn itself, as we shall see, but it is to be hoped that the moderate party will ultimately prevail.

When Francis Deak, one of Hungary's greatest statesmen and patriots, succeeded in carrying through the compromise of 1867 with Austria, there was a large body in Hungary which did not approve, and, except for the great following which Deak, as a patriot, commanded, the measure could not have been ratified in the Hungarian parliament. A ministry was therefore formed from his followers, with Count Andrassy at its head, as Deak him-

self did not wish to take office, but the true government was the "Deak Club." The opposition (which on any question of race advancement became at once converted into a government party so far as its Magyar members were concerned) was formed of the Right, or moderate opposition, including the aristocratic and clerical party, in close sympathy with Vienna and opposed to any liberal changes; the Liberal Left, an intensely nationalist Magyar party, formerly opposed to the Ausgleich and upholding the constitution of 1848; and the Extreme Left, made up of the non-Hungarian deputies, chiefly Roumanians and Slavs.

Andrassy remained in office till 1871, and was succeeded by Lonyay, who was forced by charges of corruption to resign after a year, when Szlávy took his place but held it only till 1874, after which an even more short-lived cabinet was formed under Bitto. The years between 1867 and 1875 saw a great change in the political situation in Hungary. At first the Deak party, a liberal ministerial majority, devoted themselves to the work of reconstruction, and to a steady policy of strengthening the Magyar element, and especially of introducing the language throughout the country. In 1873, however, Deak himself retired and the party began to go to pieces. The financial crisis of the same year and the scandals over railway concessions shook the Government, which was, moreover, involved in heavy expenditure which meant extra taxation and consequent unpopularity. The Left now removed the great bar which had prevented it from coming into office by withdrawing its opposition to the 1867 compromise, and

WATER CARRIER, HERZEGOVINA

a great Liberal party was formed out of the Centre and Left, with the best and most moderate men of each, under the leadership of Count Tisza, whose ministry lasted for fifteen years. The change made by the accession to power of a party containing the elements of the old irreconcilables naturally brought about a more vigorous nationalist policy. Only the Extreme Right—the conservative-clerical aristocratic body—and the Extreme Radical Left were in opposition, but Tisza commanded a large majority, and it looked as if his term of office might last till the end of the century. His autocratic temperament and the sternness of his attitude towards all who opposed him and towards subject races were, however, against his continued popularity, and in 1890 he uttered some disparaging remarks about Louis Kossuth, in whose honour the Left had organised great demonstrations, and, as the result of a stormy scene in the Chamber, resigned. His general policy was much the same as that of the Deak party, but he increased the centralisation of power. Among the successes of his administration were the conversion of the Austrian National Bank into a joint concern for the two halves of the monarchy, the nationalisation of the railways, and the adoption of the zone tariff, which has done so much for the prosperity of Hungary

After a short ministry under Count Szapary, Dr. Wekerle, the Minister of Finance, took office in 1892, and by this time the increase in the extreme Left, or Radical section, forced government to take up questions of Church and State. These had been postponed as long as possible to avoid the disunion in the national ranks which

these controversial points had raised among the German Austrians and might be expected to raise in Hungary likewise.

Laws establishing civil marriage, religious liberty, and the legal equality of the Jews were passed with the aid of the Left, but were rejected by the Magnates, supported (it is said) by the King. The ministry resigned, but as no new one could be formed without the support of Wekerle and his friends, they were reinstated, the King withdrew his opposition, the Magnates gave way, and the compulsory civil marriage bill was passed, while other measures also went through both houses triumphantly. Wekerle, however, resigned at the desire of the King, under strong Catholic pressure, and Baron Banffy took office in 1895. He proceeded on the same lines as Wekerle in passing bills granting religious freedom. In 1897, when the renewal of the commercial compromise fell due, Banffy pledged himself that, failing an understanding with Austria within a year, he would propose to Parliament the economic independence of Hungary. The condition of obstruction in the Austrian parliament entirely precluded the conclusion of a fresh compromise and, as we have seen already, the mutual economic relations were carried on provisionally by Imperial and Royal proclamation.

Early in 1899, when Banffy was compelled to resign, a ministry was formed under Szell, and the renewal of the commercial Ausgleich relieved the congestion of affairs to a certain extent. For the next two years, until 1901, comparative peace reigned in the Hungarian parliament,

but the increase of anti-Magyar feeling in Austria, chiefly due to commercial jealousy, found a reply in Hungary and fed the flames which burned among the Magyar Independence Party. It must be mentioned that the Nationalist Party had split in two, the extreme section which desired complete separation being led by Francis Kossuth, son of the old patriot of '48. The Nationalists proper, under Count Albert Apponyi, did not go quite so far, being for one thing loyal to the dynasty, but a few years later a reunion was effected, and the two parties are now, nominally, united under a programme which, while refusing to recognise the 1867 compact, is still favourable to the retention of the common crown. In 1903 began the agitation over the new army bills, and the "language of command" question became a prominent feature in the Nationalist propaganda. A campaign of obstruction ensued, which led to the most violent scenes both in and out of the chamber. Count Stephen Tisza, son of the old Liberal Premier and heir to the Liberal traditions, tried in vain to form a Cabinet. He and his party are upholders of the Ausgleich, and although identified with the name Liberal in Hungary are rather the Tory Moderate Party. Baron Hedervary, the successful autocratic Ban of Croatia, was asked to form a Cabinet, and did so by dropping the army bills for the time, but King Francis Joseph was by no means in favour of these concessions, and announced his intention of maintaining all his prerogatives as regards "my army." He flung down the gauntlet to the Independents, and summoned Hedervary again, but in 1903 this minister was succeeded by one who was expected to be

more successful in obtaining a genuine support from parliament, and Count Stephen Tisza took office. For two years he held things together with a strong hand, but despite his high character, his autocratic temper made him enemies, and private jealousies, aided by his lack of tact and organising power, eventually caused his downfall. When he saw the opposition gathering force he tried to put through a *coup d'état* to smash the obstruction. An alteration in the standing orders was carried, but the most violent scenes followed, and after a struggle Tisza was forced to resign.

The break up of the once great Liberal Party and the final defeat of Count Stephen Tisza took place in 1905, and by this time the second great reorganisation of parties in Hungary was accomplished. With Tisza's fall the old Liberal Party melted as if by magic, nor are there any signs at present of its revival. The defeat of the Liberals was effected by a coalition of four groups which have been formed out of the Extreme Right and Extreme Left of earlier days. These were the Clerical Independents, the Independence party under Kossuth and Apponyi, the Clerical People's party, and the Liberal Dissentients or Andrassy group. The Clerical Independents have been fused with the Independence Party, which for various reasons is now the most prominent in the state and the one whose leaders make most noise in the world. In 1905 this party represented the old Irreconcilables or Extreme Nationalists, who seemed at one time to have almost disappeared, merged in the Liberals. They desired the abolition of the compromise of 1867 so that Hungary might

return to the status of 1848, when for a short time she was an entirely separate kingdom. The connection of the son of Louis Kossuth with this group gives it a fictitious resemblance to the Patriotic Party of 1848, and with him is associated the picturesque figure of Albert Apponyi, the Magyar orator, whose fine periods and impressive appearance have made him the effective representative of his country in England and America. The two Clerical parties are united in their desire to increase the influence of the church, to check the growing power of the Jews, and to repeal the civil marriage and divorce laws, but, while the Clerical Independents join with Kossuth's party, the Clerical Populists desire the maintenance of the Ausgleich with a progressively separatist interpretation. The Andrassy group, whose leader belonged to the Liberals by tradition and was originally the close friend of Tisza, has considerable influence through his great historic name and family. He was left somewhat stranded by the events of 1905 and maintained a sort of balance between Tisza and the Opposition, but finally threw his weight against the former, influenced it is said by personal feelings, which had much to do with the fall of the Liberal premier. Like his father, Count Tisza, a man of high attainments and sterling character, was lacking in the tact and suppleness essential for the difficult task before him. Besides the four main groups there was one other, composed of the personal supporters of ex-Premier Banffy, and these five bodies, all taking such different points of view, were in 1905 bound together by a solemn pact for the overthrow of the Liberal party and government. It is believed that, be-

cause the tie that unites them is so slender, it was thought necessary to strengthen it by a solemn form of oath or pact; certain it is that no sooner was their object accomplished than the yoke began to gall some of them considerably. The pact binds all members of the Coalition to hold together under all circumstances during the duration of the new Parliament, while, as a whole, the Coalition is not to sanction any policy not acceptable to any of its parts. It is hard to imagine any legislation which might not be vetoed by this arrangement, but, having made it, the Coalition leaders dare not break it. At the time it was made they expected only to act as an opposition, and the situation is now one which some of them would never have faced had they expected to take office.

One of the last acts of Count Tisza was to put through the commercial treaties with Germany, to which reference has been made, his desire being to checkmate the Independence party by presenting them with the accomplished fact, so that the commercial compromise must be renewed. The King wished Tisza to continue to hold office, but that minister was neither able nor willing to continue to govern without parliamentary support. The King therefore called on Baron Fejerváry, an old soldier, whose personal devotion to his sovereign did not permit him to refuse, and who had been Minister of National Defence for a quarter of a century. With some difficulty Fejerváry got a cabinet together, but, despite his high character and personal popularity, it was impossible not to realise that he was appointed against the sense of the parliamentary majority and represented the sovereign but not the people. He

was, in fact, defeated at once in the House, but was instructed by his sovereign to remain in office and try to come to terms with the Coalition. The latter had now crystallised their joint ambitions into a demand for the use of Hungarian as the language of command, a plank in the nationalist platform which is discussed on its own merits in Chapter X. The suggestion of minor concessions, as we have seen, was rejected by the Coalition, and with frank cynicism some of the party allowed that the language question was not the end but the beginning of their demands.

The new Minister of the Interior, a young Liberal, Mr. Kristoffy, now had the idea that the only way to break up the Coalition was to raise some question on which they were fundamentally divided, and accordingly he proposed a scheme of universal suffrage. The opposition of the Crown to such a revolutionary proposal delayed its sanction for some time, and gave the Coalition time to consider its position and to organise resistance on new lines. The quondam leader of the Liberal government, Count Tisza, came forward as a bitter opponent of the proposal, which is indeed far from palatable to a large majority of the conservative and liberal landowners, who have the old aristocratic prejudices against popular government and who are also afraid that the vote given to the Slav and Roumanian population will shake the dominant position of the Magyars. This suffrage question must be touched on again, as it is undoubtedly one of the most crucial in the history of modern Hungary. Meanwhile, because of the condition of deadlock caused by the disagreement between

the King and Parliament, affairs throughout the country were in a state of *ex lex*. Taxes could not be collected, officials resigned rather than be identified with an unpopular government, and it was with the greatest difficulty that a cabinet could be kept together. Fejerváry, a high-souled and high-principled Magyar, was placed in a most painful position, but the debt of gratitude he owed to his sovereign (who had saved his life during a severe illness by sending to Berlin for the necessary surgical help and paying all expenses himself) did not allow the old soldier to waver in his fidelity. The Coalition were offered office on terms, but these they would not entertain, and Fejerváry had to remain at the post of duty as the target of the Opposition. The Parliament had, by law, to be summoned at intervals every year, but the Crown has the power to dissolve it at once, and this was done by the King in June, September, October, and December, 1905, and again in February, 1906. In view of the opposition shewn to the commissary who, in February, was charged to enter the House and read the Royal rescript, Francis Joseph promptly backed his prerogatives with force and sent a colonel and soldiers with drawn swords to carry out his orders. The Coalition leaders, being advised that their legal position did not allow them to resist this order, submitted for the time, but signed a declaration that, on March 1st, 1906, when by law the Parliament must again be summoned, they would refuse to be dissolved and would remain sitting. Such procedure would be flat rebellion.

The most dramatic situation which, in modern times, has occurred in any State or Parliament was thus created.

The ides of March were indeed awaited breathlessly, for only a little more than a month's respite remained before the momentous decision had to be made. The King was reported to have decided to meet rebellion by a return to absolutism, and indeed, holding the strong views he does about the union and maintenance of the Ausgleich intact, it was hard to see what other step he could take. An additional difficulty was created by the fact that the new commercial treaties were to come into force on March 1st, and as they involved numerous changes in the tariff it was essential that some parliamentary government should be in existence to issue the necessary instructions. This Parliament had therefore to be summoned by the middle of April.

The Coalition, it must be mentioned, had at first tried to make terms with the Crown, but their tactics had severely angered Francis Joseph, because, while their representatives avowed that all they wanted was the dismissal of the Fejerváry-Kristoffy Cabinet, the leaders openly declared that they would only make peace on terms of substantial concession. After this the old monarch refused to negotiate, and, summoning the Coalition to his presence, read them his list of conditions and curtly dismissed them.

Up to the end of the first week in April nothing was done and chaos reigned. Fejerváry, it is said, urged his master to avoid the crisis by not summoning the parliament at all, but Francis Joseph was firm in his determination that he would fulfil the letter of the constitution and let the first breach (if made) come from the other side.

On Monday, April 9th, the summons for the new Parliament had to go out. On Saturday the miracle happened. At the eleventh hour the Coalition and the Crown came to terms, which were actually arranged on the last day of grace, and by these terms of Coalition took office. They "reserved their principles," and agreed to carry on the business of the country during the next two years, to pass a universal suffrage bill, and to vote the supplies so long in arrears. Concessions as to commercial relations are believed to have secured this compromise.

The vital questions of the language of command, economic independence, and, practically, of the continuance of the Dual Monarchy, are thus postponed, and when they come up for consideration it will be in a parliament elected for the first time on a democratic basis. The Premier is Dr. Wekerle, and the transition government contains practically all the leaders of any note except, of course, Count Tisza, who has retired into private life on his estate. There is Francis Kossuth, leader of the Independence party and heir to the prestige and popularity, as well as the rather inflated eloquence of his father, but not to the mental and physical stamina of that remarkable man. That the son of Louis Kossuth, who died in exile rather than recognise the hated Habsburg as King of Hungary, should now be a minister of that same Habsburg is one of time's revenges. The younger Kossuth is more pliable than his father, but he and his party still stand for the idea of complete separation and the repudiation of the Ausgleich. With him is Count Andrassy, one of the party who wrought the work of '67, the inheritor of the Deak tradi-

STATUE OF ST. STEPHEN, BUDAPEST

tion, if there is such a thing as political consistency. Dr. Wekerle, who introduced the anti-clerical laws, and Count Zichy, a Catholic, are colleagues, and towering over all is that handsome, specious, frothy politician who, beginning life as a Don Quixote, now gives one the impression of an American demagogue—the great Hungarian nobleman, Count Albert Apponyi.

For a short time an unwonted calm reigned. In May the Emperor went to Budapest to unveil the statue of King Stephen, and although his reception was not demonstrative, it was, at least, respectful and cordial. The Premier took the opportunity of making a speech which sounded like a lecture on constitutionalism for the benefit of the monarch, who may have had some moments of amusement in reflecting on the " constitutionalism " of the King-Saint, his predecessor, in whose honour they were gathered together. By autumn, 1906, a new crisis arose, with reference to the levy of recruits for the common army, which the King desired and the Hungarian government refused. A secret pact with the Coalition gave the King the right to demand recruits in case of " unavoidable necessity," and the European situation seemed to him to fulfil those conditions. The Hungarians, however, saw only an opportunity for wringing from him fresh concessions.

The year of 1905 was a wasted year for Hungary, a period in which the condition of the parliament precluded any useful legislation and hindered the actual carrying out of existing laws. It is to be hoped that the short respite now gained will be used to the best advantage.

CHAPTER XV

FOREIGN RELATIONS—AUSTRIA, HUNGARY, AND EUROPE

At the end of our historical sketch we said that the conclusion of the war with Prussia began a new epoch for the territory ruled by the Habsburgs, in that, their frontiers being settled, their distracting interests in non-contiguous possessions of their House no longer the predominant feature in their policy, their pretensions to Italy forever quashed, and their exclusion from Germany made certain, they were now at liberty to devote themselves to the consolidation of their power within their own borders and the reconciling of conflicting elements. Despite the confusion of subsequent periods, the present state of suspense, and keen racial conflict it cannot be denied that the progress of the two halves of the Dual Monarchy in the years that have elapsed has been far from unsatisfactory. Their finances have been restored, communications have been opened, education has been brought up to date under State control, the armies have been reorganised, and social legislation on a liberal and humanitarian model has been introduced. In short, both Austria and Hungary are on a higher plane as modern civilised countries than ever before, and there is no reason to suppose that, under a Habsburg régime, this improvement would not be maintained. Hungary, of course, is rather inclined to take the attitude "alone I done it!" Moreover, she likes to speak con-

temptuously of Austria as old and worn out, of Vienna as a " dead city," and to believe herself the only progressive element in the Dual monarchy. Bohemia, which has an equally strong claim to youth and progressiveness, is inclined also to disclaim any assistance from " German " sources. The outsider, who sometimes sees most of the game, is obliged to ask himself under whose guidance the Ship of State for both countries has been, almost entirely, during the period that has seen these progressions towards economic and social prosperity. Francis Joseph has, at least, deserved credit for preserving his country from international complications.

The geographical situation of Austria and Hungary, and the ethnographic affinities of many of the peoples of both countries, give rise to a number of possible points of collision with the surrounding nations. We have already seen something of this in the pan-German agitation, but whatever the aspirations of the German nationalists may be, it is certain that, since the fall of the Slavophil Count Thun, Berlin and Vienna have been on the best of terms, and the former has been embarrassed and annoyed, rather than pleased, by the pan-German demonstrations and the attempt to glorify the Hohenzollerns at the expense of the Habsburgs. The treaty of 1879, signed by Bismarck and Andrassy, bound Austria and Germany to assist each other in the event of an attack by Russia, or by France and Russia, and some years later the inclusion of Italy in this compact formed the Triple Alliance which has been repeatedly renewed. The terms are not actually known, but there is good authority for believ-

ing that Germany and Italy are pledged to support each other from French attack, while Austria and Italy promise to maintain benevolent neutrality in case either is attacked by Russia. It will be seen that Austria is only pledged to give active support in case of an attack by Russia, and claims no assistance except against Russia. The elimination of Russia as a possible aggressor consequent on her internal disorders, therefore, makes the Triple Alliance of little effect in binding Austria, and it is an open secret that Italy is by no means contented with the possibility that she might have to assist Germany against France or against any other Power joined with France. The recent Anglo-Franco-Italian *entente* has, in fact, rather cut the ground from under the feet of the Triple Alliance, which only continues to endure because of the difficulty of repudiating it. The action of Italy at Algeciras was indicative of her feeling, as she declined to support Germany, and the telegram in which the Emperor William thanked Austria for the correctness of her attitude was intended as a reproof to Italy. It did not, however, meet with much gratitude in Vienna.

The elimination of Russia, while it immediately removes one of the bogeys of Eastern Europe—the possibility of a Slav reunion under the hegemony of the great Slav empire—increases the delicacy of the situation both as regards Germany and the Balkan States. Germany is now far freer to pursue her ambitions in the Near East, and is, in fact, taking every opportunity she can find, notwithstanding the opposition of Great Britain, to strengthen her influence in Asia Minor and secure her great desire, a

port on the Persian Gulf and a railway towards it, which would act as a counterpoise to the two great routes to the Far East—the Suez canal, controlled by Britain, and the Siberian railway. To make such a communication complete, however, a more direct and easily controlled route to the Ægean than at present exists would be necessary, and Austria, credited with the design of pushing through Novi-Bazaar (already linked with her own system) and southeast to Salonica across Macedonia, is an important factor in the case. An Austrian state in which German influence predominated, possibly within the German customs union, united to Germany by ties of blood and tradition, would be a valuable ally in such a matter. Pan-Germans, of course, regard the affair as settled. Their maps shew " German " territory stretching out boldly to Salonica, the great line running thence without break from Berlin, and so on down the Bagdad Railway (fringed with German agricultural colonies) to the Persian Gulf. That there should be an " all-German " line to the East is the dearest hope of the Chauvinists and even of more moderate people, and, without making too much noise about it, the most exalted personage in Germany casts a favourable eye upon these dreams. Whether Austria will allow herself to be the cat's-paw in this matter is not yet clear. A great deal depends on the issue of the internal struggles which are at present rending her and upon the continuance or severance of the Dual monarchy. As for the possible political absorption of Austria by Germany, it may be doubted whether the latter would welcome any such addition to her internal troubles, but this subject

has already been touched on and need not be elaborated here.

The relations of Austria and Italy are of a delicate character. The settlement, after the defeat of Austria in 1859, left her still in possession of lands which, although belonging by hereditary right to the House of Habsburg, are Italian both geographically and ethnographically. The same racial situation is found in Switzerland, however, and it is by no means certain that political boundaries need coincide with those of race or geography. The rise of Italy as a modern power and the renewal among her people of a real national patriotism has, however, affected the Italian lands of Austria very keenly. Chief of these is the Trentino, the district on the southern slope of the Alps so well known to tourists as the Italian Tyrol. The ports of Trieste and Fiume are other centres of Italian irredentism, and in the event of any dispute between Austria and Italy it would be difficult to hold the coast for the former in view of this internal sympathy with the latter. The Italian fleet, as is well known, is far superior to that of Austria, and altogether the outlets to the sea of this great Central European country (in which Hungary is included) cannot be regarded as secure. Under the circumstances there would be nothing astonishing in the fact, if demonstrated, that Austria and Hungary look towards Salonica as an alternative. But here we find ourselves at once involved in that forest of difficult questions with which the Balkan States bristle.

The relations of Austria-Hungary (for in this case the Dual Monarchy must not be considered separately) with

A BOSNIAN FISHERY (WINTER)

Servia and Macedonia are directly involved by the presence of the army of occupation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. There is no real distinction of race or language in this region, inhabited by the Serbo-Croats who spread right across the Balkan States and through Croatia-Dalmatia-Slavonia up to the country of the Slovenes. In August, 1906, it was reported that the Serbo-Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina were asking for incorporation with the Croats, and it is certain that sooner or later there will be a *rapprochement* among these peoples, for which end Servia is working quietly but heartily. Her own position, hemmed in by Austria-Hungary on north and west, by Bulgaria, her kinsman and rival, on the east, and by the amorphous Turkish provinces on the south, makes her peculiarly sensitive to the manœuvres of the Great Powers in Macedonia, where Austria, as one of the mandatory powers, has acquired a special position considerably strengthened by the present impotence of her coadjutor, Russia.

In 1906 the rest of Europe became aware of a difference of opinion between Servia and Austria as to customs matters, which, considering the bulk and character of the Servian trade (chiefly pigs), did not appear (to Europe) to be a very great matter. Servia, it seems, suddenly announced a customs treaty with Bulgaria which infringed the rights of Austria under existing arrangements. That she should have made a treaty without reference to Vienna seemed a piece of defiance, in view of the fact that the bulk of her trade is with the Dual Monarchy. Austria-Hungary closed her frontiers to Servian pigs, to the great in-

convenience of the people on either side who lived on the one hand by selling and on the other by eating them.

In the *pourparlers* which followed Austria was determined to make terms only on the consent of Servia to obtain certain armaments (for which she was anxious) through Austrian sources. At the time of writing Servia is still impenitent, has ordered guns from France, and seeks fresh markets for her pigs, with seeming success. A source of more pressing anxiety to her is the process by which Novi-Bazaar is being actively Austrianised. The Turkish vilayet which lies between Servia and Montenegro contains the strategic key to Macedonia through which troops must pass to reach Turkey in Europe and which, moreover, commands Servia to a great extent. The army of the Dual Monarchy is supposed to maintain outposts there under the civil administration of the Turks, but a good deal more effective occupation than that of a mere outpost has been accomplished. At Plevlje, the centre of the vilayet, Austro-Hungarian barracks, quarters, and every sign of permanent and effective occupation are to be seen. The telegraph lines run there, and it is rumoured that a railway is planned, if not already in construction, to reach it. Other garrisons are maintained further East, as far as the Turkish *amour propre* will admit, and the Servians say that Austria looks forward to a mandate from the Powers (as the only one with troops available) to descend upon Macedonia for the preservation of the "oppressed Christians." Bulgaria, however, is playing a similar game, nor is Greece backward in her designs on the oppressed co-religionists. The sufferers are

A BOSNIAN FALCONER

the unfortunate Macedonians of every creed, who are safe neither from their friends nor their enemies. In the event of a collision between any of these discordant factors, let loose by the removal of the Russian peril which had hung over them so long, Austria-Hungary would inevitably be drawn into the conflict—a contingency always present to her few real statesmen.

A third range of possibilities is opened by the internal disorder of Russia. If the powers of anarchy prevail over those of centralised autocracy, either now or in the future, the Poles will certainly not lose the opportunity for regaining that independence of which they still fondly dream. In this struggle it is highly probable that the Polish provinces of Austria would take a part. There are many people within both Austria and Hungary who regard these appendages as worse than useless, and, indeed, they belong to another and non-European world. The effect of universal suffrage on these provinces would be so revolutionary that the Polish aristocracy, long the supporters of the Austrian government in the Reichsrath, will oppose it by every means in their power, and would even prefer an exchange of masters rather than run the risks of finding the suffrage in the hands of the Ruthenian peasantry.

The extraordinary feature in the situation of the Dual Monarchy is the isolation of Hungary. Except for her association with Austria in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hungary, with her rampart of mountains on north, southwest, and east, and her southern boundary of great rivers, has little contact with great countries save on the northwest,

where she meets Austria *vîa* the Danube. But she has a hostage to fortune in that hand stretched out to the Adriatic and clutching Fiume, her one and only port, and she has, in Croatia and in Transylvania, subject races whose affinities outside the borders of the kingdom may yet cause her trouble. The Roumanian population of Hungary is nearly three millions, and is barely separated by the Southern Carpathians from that young and vigourous Roumanian state which, under a Hohenzollern prince, has made such extraordinary progress to prosperity and stability and became a kingdom in 1881. The granddaughter of the late Queen Victoria is the future Roumanian queen, and the energy and patriotism of the present king have wrought wonders for his adopted country. *Roumania irridenta* is as popular a cry as the similar one respecting Italy, and the uncompromising attitude adopted by Hungary towards her Rouman subjects (who have been unable to win concessions like those made to Croatia) drives them into an attitude as friendly to Roumania over the border as it is hostile to Hungary, their ruler. We have already dwelt on the other weak spot in the Hungarian armour—the Croatian province, with its growing desire for a fuller measure of autonomy and its sympathies with the Serbo-Croatian peoples just beyond in Bosnia and in Servia, and we have noted the suggestion of an amalgamation of these peoples.

It will be seen from this brief sketch of the foreign relations, present and possible, of the Dual Monarchy that the outside pressure which in time past was supplied by the Turks, and which held the heterogeneous provinces

and kingdoms of the Habsburgs together despite internal friction, is not as absent from the present situation as some politicians would have us believe. In particular, the situation of Hungary as an independent state, owning no connection with Austria (save perhaps a common king) would be at once an isolated and precarious one. It is hard to see how she could successfully ensure her outlet on the Adriatic, the allegiance of Croatia, or the peace of Transylvania. Her own example is the one most closely followed by Croatia, and without the check of the armed occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina the Slavs of the Balkan States could spill over into Southern Hungary and keep the country in a perpetual ferment of politics and race animosity. The elimination of Russia, far from removing the Slav danger, increases it by letting loose the Balkan States, who will simultaneously have a severe attack of Chauvinism and Irredentism. True, as an armed state Hungary could hold her own, that is, unless the Croatians—among the best fighters in the Dual Monarchy—took up arms seriously against her at a critical moment. But Hungary has just pledged herself to a career of industrial expansion. The Magyar is no longer the wild rider of the plains, a horseman and fighter from his youth up, all spurs and mustachios; he is a serious worker, a man of business, an industrial employer. To carry out a military policy adequate for her needs *as a separate and independent nation and country* would be to cripple Magyar industry and progress at the outset by imposing on Hungary the inevitable accompaniments of militarism.

The lesson of foreign relations should, therefore, not

be left unstudied by Hungarian patriots, nor is it to be despised by a large section of Austrians. The Czechs should moderate a policy of obstruction which may drive German Austria into the arms of Germany, and should do all they can to promote the continuance of an alliance between Austria and Hungary in which Bohemia, by her wealth and progress, may play a moderating part. As a part of a German confederation her rôle would be less important. However unfair the Ausgleich of 1867 may have seemed to Slav interests in the Austrian lands, it created a state in which the Czechs have been gradually gaining more and more power. A moderate use of that power is the wisest course they can take, for their little kingdom is not ripe for independence, save in the sense of self-government, and while it must hang on to the skirts of a big country that country had better be Austria than Germany.

CHAPTER XVI

THE DUAL MONARCHY AND THE DYNASTY

THERE are two questions which rise to the lips whenever Austria-Hungary is mentioned in other countries: "Will the monarchy break up?" "What will happen when Francis Joseph dies?" As a rule the general impression seems to be that the second question contains the answer to the first. The Emperor and King is so commanding a figure, the part played by him in the Dual Monarchy is so all-important, that it seems as if his removal from the stage must mean the immediate dislocation of the whole machinery.

The reader of this book may perhaps be surprised that so little has been said directly about the striking personality of Francis Joseph. Everything that is known of him, however—which the rigid privacy of Austrian life permits to be known—has been so thoroughly canvassed that it is not possible to throw any fresh light on the subject. Everyone knows the outward appearance of the ruddy, healthy old man, his simple habits, the story of his sad married life, the fates of his only son and beautiful wife—the whole tragic story of a long and troubled life, in which the family formed no haven from cares of state. The unanimous opinion is that any ordinary man could never have survived the blows dealt at Francis Joseph by fate, coming on the top of a life of strenuous work and mental

worry. What has preserved him to a good old age, however, is a certain toughness of fibre, both mental and physical. His attitude in the recent crisis illustrates this, and is more indicative of his true character than the apparent vacillations by which he leaned, first to one and then to another side, in the earlier stages of the parliamentary struggles. Francis Joseph was brought up in a school of severe duty. His leanings to Czechs, Germans, or Magyars at different periods were apparently concessions to popular will, but they were equally expressions of his desire to be even and just to all his people. When it came to a question involving what he believes to be his own constitutional position—a question which will inevitably lead on to breaches in the 1867 compact—the Emperor and King shewed no sign of weakness. His attitude towards the "language of command" question is simply this: the army was created by the Ausgleich, and the Crown was especially constituted the organiser and controller of the army, which is neither Austrian nor Hungarian but unitary and common. The question of language was not raised at the time the army was created, but it is a military necessity that a unitary army should have one language of command, and for reasons of expedience as well as custom (and we may add compliment to the commander-in-chief or War Lord) that language is German and will remain German so long as the Dual Monarchy endures. The only logical alternative would be to make the language of command Hungarian, but even the extreme Magyar party could not, in the interests of efficiency, make so wild a demand. It must not be forgotten that all minor

concessions as to the placing of Hungarian officers, the use of Magyar in instruction, the use of badges, flags, etc., have been promised or offered. The principle, however, is reserved.

The attitude of Francis Joseph towards the Magyars generally is a subject of contention. The great grievance is that he does not keep up a court or reside part of every year in Budapest, and it is certain that a few concessions to Magyar national pride in their capital would have gone a long way in softening their attitude. Francis Joseph is their own King, accepted and crowned by them in the church where all their kings are crowned, with the diadem of King Stephen and the traditional, half Oriental ritual. Magyars are extremely susceptible to such ties; they are aristocratic in their traditions and ideals and consequently monarchical. Maria Theresa, with a woman's insight, managed them better than any of her predecessors or successors. A little flattery, a little gratification of their sumptuary instincts would have gone far to modify their jealousy of their monarch as an Austrian and a foreigner. But Francis Joseph was no longer a young man when the Ausgleich put him on a footing with his Hungarian subjects in which such tactics became possible. He had had nearly twenty years of absolutism under the influence of reactionary and despotic ministers. He was, and is, of the true Austrian type, to whom new ideas penetrate slowly and who dislike change in their habits. Forced into the position of a constitutional monarch he interpreted his rôle, as we have seen, with the utmost freedom, and having, as he thought, met the desires of his Magyar subjects

finally and conclusively in 1867, when he incurred the blame of Austrian-Germans and Slavs and handed over the Croats, he did not expect to make further concessions.

This is one side of the picture. On the other we have Francis Joseph, dreaming in his young days of the restoration of the Holy Roman Empire and of the humiliation of Protestant Prussia. The lesson learned from the ultramontane teacher of his youth had sunk deep into his soul. He was the champion of military and religious despotism, the enemy of liberalism and capitalism alike—the two protagonists of the middle class industrialist. The dream castle fell in 1859 at Magenta and Solferino, but not till after Sadowa was his true destiny revealed to him. The Hungarians made terms with him which he could not refuse—this is "the other side"—or rather Beust made the terms in haste, anxious to form a solid state and to strengthen Austria as a revenge on Prussia. Barred out from Germany, deprived of the empire of his dreams, Francis Joseph turned eastwards. One thing is certain: both Deak and he intended the Ausgleich to be a permanent arrangement, while the modern Hungarian leaders regard it as a leasehold of the monarchy renewable on fresh terms at certain intervals.

The process by which the Emperor has drifted away from his Austrian-German subjects can be easily understood, but in alienating the extreme portion of them he yet did not win the suffrages of the Slavs. As soon as the latter began to gain in power, so that the parties were more equal, the struggle became also more acute. It is easy to criticise his policy as vacillating, but the difficulties were

inherent, not created by any lack of firmness on the part of the Crown. Taafe is reported to have said that the only way to rule Austria was to keep everyone permanently discontented, a saying which illustrates the difficulties of a monarch who is forced in his old age to abandon absolutism for popular government.

Nothing could have been more distasteful at first sight to the Emperor and King than the idea of universal suffrage. The extent to which the great landowning class could be counted upon to come to the rescue of the ministers of the Crown in emergencies can be gathered from the political summary of a previous chapter. Both in Hungary and Austria these great and noble landowners form a class quite apart either from the gentry or the people, and they are almost invariably extremely loyal to the dynasty and to the Catholic faith.

The basis of suffrage in Austria and Hungary alike is at present one of classes. The great mass of the people are not represented in either country, being either artificially excluded, or even if they vote, deprived by the distribution of seats of any real share in the parliamentary representation.

Two views prevail as to the effect of including these people in a scheme of genuine representation. Kristoffy, the author of the suggestion, reckons that the inclusion of that large body of Hungarian landowners with as little as two acres—in reality a body of agricultural labourers with small holdings—would at least double the purely Magyar electorate. He and his supporters undoubtedly build on the fact that the non-Magyars (the Slovaks, Sax-

ons, Croats, Servians, and Roumanians), are not to the same extent likely to fulfil a landowning and educational qualification which they intend to propose. The Magyars undoubtedly will adopt some such precaution, and for the time it may be sufficient, but the suffrage is a dangerous weapon with which to play, and to create in people the desire for a vote by dangling it just before their eyes is the first step to their getting it, by hook or by crook. This scheme would, however, break the power of the landed gentry, and it is opposed by such men as Count Tisza, not only because the Magyars have long been accustomed to declare that this small nobility class is the backbone of the country, but because it is difficult for him and his like to believe that their ignorant peasantry (often of several races) would be better off as free voters than they are under the sort of feudal and paternal régime on their estates, where the owner is his own overseer and personally looks after his people. The objection to the large class of workmen in towns who would be enfranchised is that they would elect socialists, who are inter-national or anti-national in views. In short, the chief fear of a great number of worthy and patriotic Magyars is that the authority so jealously guarded in hands where the national honour and all questions of race were quite safe, despite party dissensions, should now devolve upon shoulders unaccustomed to it, upon people not imbued with Magyar traditions and not yet sufficiently in touch with Magyar ideals—in some cases frankly anti-Magyar.

In Austria the suffrage question was also unwelcome, but for different reasons. The danger of an increase in

TRANSYLVANIA VILLAGE GYPSIES

NOMADIC GYPSIES

the socialist ranks is almost overshadowed in the minds of the Austrian Germans of every party by the dread of the overwhelming Slav majority which may be returned.

The opinion of the Emperor and King on this momentous subject may be guessed by the difficulty with which his consent was obtained, although the situation was growing desperate and it seemed the only weapon ready to his hand. The remedy must have seemed to him almost worse than the disease. The combination of clerical and demagogue foreshadowed by the agreement of the political parties which have received the proposal favourably gives the key to one reason which may have influenced Francis Joseph as a staunch Catholic. The failing power of the church, it is hoped, will receive a fresh lease of life from the popular support to be expected from the enfranchised proletariat. The middle class, growing in wealth and influence, and above all the Jewish middle class, will, say the clericals, receive a crushing blow. There has been in the last few years a Catholic reaction against the growth of Protestantism and indifferentism in Hungary. Wekerle lost his first premiership because of the opposition to his anti-clerical laws, and in the present cabinet a staunch Catholic, Count Zichy, is included, as a sign that the breach has been healed. Apponyi, it may be noted, is a pupil of the Jesuits.

In attempting any summary of the central European crisis, the possible turning point in the history of both Austria and Hungary, as well as of the Dual Monarchy as one, the writer is bewildered by the kaleidoscopic nature of the problems presented. The great Whirlpool of Eu-

rope seethes with hidden currents; only those which revolve on the surface can be described and mapped out. We come back, however, to the main factor in the case, and that factor is the house of Habsburg. There is no special merit in this ancient house. Its members have only once or twice displayed exceptional qualities of any kind. But the Whirlpool had to have a centre, and the House, with its narrow dynastic policy, its line of obstinate centralising rulers, and its military traditions, was the best centre that could be found. It outlived any other possible centre, it displayed vitality at the most unexpected points, and finally it remains to-day the link which binds together the most heterogeneous collection of peoples and countries the world has ever seen in one continental realm. Despite the party differences, the nationalist aspirations, the religious disputes of the peoples of Austria-Hungary, an overwhelming majority of them are true in their loyalty to the dynasty. The personality of Francis Joseph has something to do with this, but it is not everything. The great misfortune is that his son, also the son of the gracious and sympathetic Elizabeth, did not live to reap the harvest sown by his father and mother in the hearts of the people. He could have gone much further in the way of concession to national and racial pride and yet retained his position. The present heir to the throne is little known and that little does not endear him to any section of his future subjects except the constitutional German-Austrians. But the judgment may be premature. As a ruler Francis Ferdinand may prove as complete a surprise to his people as the present King of Italy, who was as much

overshadowed by his Berserker father as the present heir of the Habsburgs is by his popular uncle.

Two alternatives present themselves in the event of the Monarchy continuing to run in double harness. The first is that, with the retention of the present form, Hungary shall be contented to increase her power by slow and legitimate means—means legitimate with a loyal adherence to the Ausgleich—until she is the predominant partner, in fact if not in name. To do this she must effectively control and absorb her subject races (by no means an accomplished task) and at the same time she must support the dynasty and the national party in Austria. The Slavs must be kept in check. The other alternative is the development of a federalist form of government, which will give autonomy to all the nations claiming historic rights, including, of course, Croatia. The opponents of universal suffrage expect this to be one of the developments from a system which will give full play to all national parties. The present Emperor and King, as has been said, is entirely opposed to Federalism, but his successor may feel inclined to try a fresh form of Ausgleich which does not, like the 1867 compact, leave that most important factor, the Slavs, out of its reckoning.

In any case, it is clear to anyone who cares to study all the forces at work that there is a centrifugal as well as a distintegrating power at work, and as a result of all the considerations, historical, geographical, political, and ethnical, which have been presented to the reader, one can only say that the dictum of Palacky seems to be abundantly proved—that Austria is essential to the balance of Europe.

To this we may add that, as Austria divided from Hungary would gravitate inevitably to Germany, the saying must be amended to include the Dual Monarchy and not Austria alone. Moreover, if the continuance of the Dual Monarchy is essential for Europe, it is also equally essential for the true greatness and progress of each half of it. United they form a great central European Power; apart they would be at best two second-rate states surrounded by great and ambitious rivals.

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Drohobycz
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Stanislawow
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Ungvar
Pystyn
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Pruth
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Szigeth
Kampolung
Margita
Nagy Karoly
Szamos
Gulgo

Map of
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
to illustrate
"THE WHIRLPOOL OF EUROPE."
English Miles
Kilometres
Railways thus
George Philip & Son. Ltd
The London Geographical Institute

APPENDIX I

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY IN 1900

Population	Races	Chief Habitat
11,306,795	GERMANS	Austria, the Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Moravia, Silesia, Hungary, and Transylvania
8,751,817	MAGYARS	Hungary and Transylvania
22,409,539	SLAVS	
	(a) North Slav: Czechs, Slovaks	Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia Hungary
	(a) North Slav: Ruthenians	Galicia and Hungary
	(a) North Slav: Poles	Galicia and Silesia
	(b) South Slav: Slovenes	Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia
	(b) South Slav: Serbo-Croats	Croatia, Slavonia, Istria, Dalmatia, Hungary, Bosnia, Herzegovina,
	(b) South Slav: Bulgarians	Hungary
3,757,544	ROUMANS	Hungary, Transylvania, and Bukowina
	(a) E. Roumanian: Moldo-Wallachians	Hungary and Transylvania
	(b) W. Roumanian: Italians	Tyrol and Coastland
	(b) W. Roumanian: Friaulians	Coastland
	(b) W. Roumanian: Ladinians	Tyrol
913,664	OTHERS	
	Including Jews, Gypsies	Widely diffused
	Armenians	Transylvania and Hungary
47,139,359	Albanians	Bosnia

APPENDIX II

The racial proportions of the Austrian population in 1900, ktaen roughly in millions, were as follows:

Germans		9
Czechs, Moravians, Slovaks	Slav	6
Poles	Slav	4¼
Ruthenians	Slav	3¼
Slovenes	Slav	1¼
Servians, Croats	Slav	¾
Italians		¾
Roumanians		¼
Magyars and Others		½
		26 millions, of whom 15½ are Slavs.

The racial proportions of the Hungarian population in 1900, taken roughly in millions, were as follows:

Magyars		8¾
Slovaks	Slav	2
Croats	Slav	1¾
Servians	Slav	1
Ruthenians	Slav	½
Roumanians		2¾
Germans		2
Others, less than		½
		19¼ millions, of whom 10½ were not Magyars

Between 1850 and 1900 (a period of fifty years) the Slavs increased by seven millions, the Germans by four millions, the Magyars by three millions, and the Roumanians (Wallachs) by one million.

APPENDIX III

LIST OF PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES CONSULTED

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